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THE AGAPÉ
AND THE EUCHARIST

THE AGAPÉ AND THE EUCHARIST IN THE EARLY CHURCH

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF
THE CHRISTIAN LOVE-FEASTS

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PREFACE

THE attention of scholars has lately been directed afresh to the subject of the Agapé by the translation of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and of *The Testament of our Lord*, and quite recently, by the publication by Dr Hauler, from the Verona palimpsest, of the Latin *Didascalia*, and the *Egyptian Church Order* (*Canonum Reliquiæ*), of which the one lies behind, and the other is also—but less closely—related to the Apostolic Constitutions.

The present investigation does not claim to have added largely to what was already known on the subject. The Agapé has long been regarded as, if not, like Mary Queen of Scots, "the eternal enigma of history," at least one of the obscurest of problems, and I do not profess to have solved it. Indeed it is very doubtful if we have the materials for its complete solution even now after these fresh discoveries.

All that has been attempted is to bring together

such illustrative sources as are available in heathen and Jewish literature, to pass under review the various references or allusions to the Agapé in the New Testament, and the Fathers, and to compare the extant "Ordinances" on the subject with each other.

This has never, so far as I am aware, been at all fully done before. Bingham's, Binterim's, Drescher's, and T. Harnack's contributions to the subject are all valuable, but none of them have been brought up to date. Even what is here attempted leaves room for a more thoroughly critical account of the matter; and it is certain to be objected to by some, as following traditional lines of interpretation too closely; but even so independent a critic of early Christian literature as Dr Rendel Harris has remarked with reason that "catholic traditions have a remarkable way of vindicating themselves."

One of the most important questions in this investigation seems to be what was the determining factor in the apparent variety of early Christian practice with regard to the Agapé. We have to account, *e.g.*, for the silence as to this rite of second-century writers in Rome and Gaul, and the emphasis of second-century or later writers in

North Africa, Antioch, and Alexandria. Some take this to support their theory of the original identity—as distinct from mere co-existence—of the Eucharist with the common meals, or the development of the Eucharist out of the common meal. It seems to me that, as I have stated at more length later on, it would not be easy to prove that such silence implies non-existence in the case of a custom, which was so obviously consonant both with Christian teaching, and with Jewish and heathen practice as the Agapé, and in the face of the statements of Tertullian, *e.g.*, as to this and other Christian usages—statements which have an obviously representative ring about them, and which must stand or fall together.

To my mind it is clear that it was the Roman law which to a very large extent regulated Christian practice in this respect, and that this law was administered with varying strictness in different parts of the Empire. But when this has been said, we are still face to face with a very difficult question, viz., the whole relation of early Christianity to the Roman Government. On this subject I have only to add here to what I have said elsewhere (Appendix II.), that such unworthy researches as I have been able to make have

tended to confirm the interesting discoveries of Professor W. M. Ramsay. "When Christianity," he[1] says, "established itself amidst an alien society, it did not immediately remake the whole life and manners of its converts. They continued to live in many respects as before; they were characterised by most of the habits, and some of the faults of their old life and of the society in which they lived. . . . Christians were the dominant class in most Phrygian cities after 200. They registered themselves as *collegia tenuiorum*, and accommodated themselves in all possible ways to the Roman law. Ideas and objects strictly Christian were indicated by terms of ordinary pagan use, or terms unknown to the vulgar. . . . And so we are forced to look for hidden meanings in early Christian epigraphy."

Here we have a clue by which it may be hoped that, as time goes on, more will be discovered as to early Christian social organisation, including the Agapé. In the meantime, as regards the earlier use of the Agapé, I venture to hold rather with Bishop Lightfoot than with those who think that *all* is quite dark with regard to the relation of the Eucharist to the Agapé up to the middle or

[1] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 119 ff.

latter part of the second century, when there emerges on one side of the picture the liturgical Eucharist, on the other side the Agapé with Eucharistic acts; and further, it seems to me doubtful whether we are justified in correlating the Agapé of the *Canons of Hippolytus* as closely with the Paschal Supper and the original Eucharist as Dr Achelis does.[1]

I regret that the book was in type before I read Dr P. Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica*, which it would have been well to have had before one in the earlier part of the investigation. Dr Gardner, like other critical writers, who are disposed to infer rapid accretions upon original Christianity by the method of comparative analysis of other religions, seems not to be fully sensible of the moral cleavage between early Christianity and contemporary heathenism, and even Rabbinical Judaism, but the general tone of his work is worthy of the highest respect.

I have spoken of his—recently modified[2]—view of the origin of the Eucharist elsewhere (chap. v. p. 161). But as to Mithraism he seems to think

[1] *Die Canones Hippolyti*, p. 210 ff. *Cf. infra*, p. 135.

[2] He formerly thought it possible that St. Paul's ideas about the Eucharist may have been coloured "by the rites carried on at the neighbouring Eleusis" (p. 454). But see below, Appendix I. C.

(p. 335) that M. Foucart, whom I have quoted, is not quite fair to it. The sources of information on this subject are now open to all in Cumont's important work,[1] but it shows how little we know of the details of Mithraism. As Mr F. G. Kenyon has recently pointed out, Mithraism, as an eclectic religion, may have borrowed ceremonies from Christianity, whereas the reverse is chronologically impossible. "We can recognise in Mithraism elements of truth, which account for its temporary success . . . but we cannot see in it a serious and formidable rival to the Truth which is the light of the world."[2]

Apart from the difficulty of the subject, the little book has suffered from constant interruptions due to various causes; but, in spite of its defects, it is hoped that there may be some interest in an outline which incidentally brings out some important features of early Church life, and puts before the reader materials for forming an independent judgment on the various questions at issue.

Chapters i., ii., iii., v., with the Introduction and

[1] *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles-Lamertin, 1896-9).

[2] "Mithraism and the Fall of Paganism" (*Guardian*, April 24, 1901).

the Appendices, were accepted by the Cambridge Divinity Professors as a sufficient exercise for the degree of D.D.

I have to thank the Regius Professor for leave to make additions and corrections, and for his great kindness in looking over the proof sheets; and the Rev. Canon A. J. Maclean for reading over chapter iv. I owe one or two suggestions to the kindness of Dr Armitage Robinson, but I wrote without seeing the discussions of the Last Supper by Dr Sanday and Dr Plummer in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

September 1901.

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INTRODUCTION.

AT the outset of an historical investigation of this kind it seems very important that one should put oneself into the right point of view; that one should try, as far as possible, to reconstruct in imagination the environment — either heathen or Jewish—with which these Christian sacred social meals were surrounded at the time of their institution, and of their early development, and consequently the associations with which they would be connected in the minds both of the earliest Christians, and of subsequent converts to Christianity.

I propose, therefore, by way of introduction, to consider briefly such heathen and Jewish analogues of the Christian Agapé as are known to us, and then to pass on to the more immediate consideration of the history of the subject itself.

I

Heathen Analogues.

There is a passage in St Augustine's treatise against Faustus the Manichæan, in which Faustus

is represented as seeking to minimise the differences between Christianity and Heathenism; and among other alleged resemblances between the two he speaks[1] of the Christians as having turned the heathen sacrifices into Christian love-feasts.

This statement has been interpreted by some writers as implying that the Christian Agapé had a heathen origin. And, similarly, we find Sedulius,[2] in the eighth or ninth century, stating in his Commentary on St Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, which probably represents a much earlier tradition, that the custom of the feasts alluded to by St Paul originated in the heathen superstition.

St Augustine's reply to the statement of Faustus tells us nothing as to the original source of the Agapé, but it is interesting as showing the primary object of the feast[3] as celebrated in his time. "We have not," he says in effect, "turned their sacifices into love-feasts, but we have learned the meaning of sacrifice as understood by our

[1] Augustine, *Contra Faust.* lib. xx. chap. xx; *ad init.* (*cf.* chap. v).

[2] Sedul., *Collectanea* in 1 Cor. (Migne, *P. L.* ciii. 151) "Mos vero iste, ut referunt, de gentili adhuc superstitione veniebat." *Cf.* Drescher, *De Agapis*, ii.

[3] *i.e.* ideally speaking. For St Augustine's own attitude towards the Agapé see below, chap. iv.

Lord when He said 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.' For our love-feasts feed the poor." And later on he adds:[1] "If our practice appears to be similar in some respects to that of the heathen, as *e.g.* in the matter of food and drink, its scope and purpose is very different from that of men whose conceptions of God are degraded and false."

There is indeed much in what we know of religious and social custom throughout the Roman Empire in the early days of Christianity to suggest points of contact with the Christian love-meals. It is hardly too much to say that for centuries the countries comprised within the Empire had been gradually becoming "honey-combed" with organizations which involved common meals and close social intercourse. "There[2] were trade guilds and dramatic guilds, there were athletic clubs, and burial clubs, and dining clubs; there were friendly societies and literary societies and financial societies," indeed, "there was scarcely an object for which men combine now for which they did not combine then."

[1] *Contra Faust.* lib. xx. chap. xxiii.

[2] Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 26, 27; see also Orelli, *Inscrr. Latin.* 1993, and Index, and the Digest 1, 6, 6, etc.

But of all these organizations none seem to have had more hold on the affections and interests of the people than the religious associations.

Comparatively common as these were in the earlier days of Roman and Greek civilization, a phenomenal development of them took place in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire—a period which is practically coincident with the growth of the Christian love-feast.

This development seems to have been largely due to the increasing influence of Oriental religions both in Greece and Rome—to the exclusion of the old national cults.

It would be foreign to my purpose to investigate at any length the causes of this remarkable phenomenon, which had undoubtedly the effect of preparing the way for Christianity, by breaking down in men's minds the idea of the obligation of one national religion. But in order to determine with any approach to certainty the possible points of contact between these associations and the early Christian communities, it is necessary to have some idea of their moral character.

Some modern writers, such, *e.g.*, as M. Renan, have boldly asserted that it was because of their moral superiority and the greater hopes and con-

solations which they afforded that these Oriental systems made such way in the early Roman Empire. "This," he says,[1] "is the explanation of the singular attraction which, about the beginning of the Christian era, drew the populations of the heathen world to the religions of the East. These religions had in them something deeper than those of Greece and Rome: they addressed themselves more fully to the religious sentiment." And of Mithraism, which he considers to have had most prevalence, he goes on to say: "If Christianity had not carried the day, Mithraism would have become the religion of the world. It had its mysterious meetings. . . . It forged a very lasting bond of brotherhood between its initiates: it had a Eucharist—a Supper like the Christian mysteries." . . .[2]

And elsewhere[3] he adds, "the Greek '*Eranoi*' or '*Thiasoi*' of Athens, Rhodes, of the islands of the Archipelago had been excellent societies for mutual help, credit, assurance in case of fire, piety,

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 33.

[2] But *cf.* Justin M., *Apol.* i. 66: "The same thing in the mysteries of Mithra also the evil demons imitated and commanded to be done, for bread and a cup of water are placed in the mystic rites for one who is to be initiated." And *cf. supra* Pref.

[3] *Les Apôtres*, p. 188 (Eng. trans.).

honest pleasures. . . . If there still remained in the Greek world a little love, pity, religious morality, it was due to the liberty of such private religions."

When we turn to examine the evidence on which these somewhat exalted claims rest, it appears to be very scanty; and as regards the moral tone of these religious associations they seem to depend on the interpretation of a few inscriptions, of which one or two of those to which M. Renan refers may be taken as examples.

The first is an inscription of the Imperial epoch, the important part of which runs as follows:—

Νόμος ἐραν[ισ]τῶν.

Μη]δενὶ ἐξέστω ἐπ[ιέ]ναι εἰς τὴν σεμνοτάτην σύνοδον τῶν ἐρανιστῶν πρὶν ἂν δοκιμασθῇ εἰ ἔστιν ἁ[γν]ὸς καὶ εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἀγ[αθ]ός· δοκιμαζέτω δε ὁ προστατὴς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερανιστὴς καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ταμίαι καὶ σύνδικοι.[1]

This is referred to by M. Renan[2] in the above passage in proof of the holiness, piety, and goodness of the members of these religious associations. But, as has been well shown by M. Foucart, ἀγαθὸς

[1] Fourmont, *Corpus Inscrr. Gr.*, No. 126.

[2] And Dr Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 31 (second edition), seems to agree with him.

is a mere commonplace epithet in laudatory inscriptions used of any benefactor; while εὐσεβὴς is never used in such documents in the modern sense of piety; and ἅγιος is a mere conjecture in place of the more probable reading ἁγνός, which exactly fits in with the customary requirements previous to the initiation, viz., the offering of sacrifice, and the merely external purity of temporary abstinence from certain enjoyments.[1] Indeed, Plutarch[2] aptly describes the purificatory rites of such associations as ἀκάθαρτοι καθαρμοί.

The rest of M. Renan's description of the highly moral character of these confraternities seems to be based on an article by M. Wescher in the *Revue Théologique*,[3] in which he speaks of the principle of these associations being liberty, their object the moral and material elevation of mankind; and maintains that their common chest was intended to furnish advances to necessitous members.

On examination this statement appears to rest partly on the above inscription, partly on another

[1] *Cf.* Liebenam, *Geschichte der Romischen Vereinswesen*, p. 171 *n.*, and Foucart, *Des Associations Religieuses*, pp. 146 and 202.

[2] Plutarch, *De Superstitione* (chaps. iii., xii. and xiii). *Cf.* Liv., xxxix. 9.

[3] For 1865, ii. pp. 220 and 226.

restored by M. Rangabé,[1] which dates from about 60 B.C., and the important words of which are as follows :—

"Εδοξεν μὴ μετέχειν ἀυτοὺς πλέον τοῦ ἐρά[ν]ου, ἐὰν μή τινι συμβῆι ἢ διὰ πέ[νθος] ἢ διὰ ἀ] σθένειαν ἀπολειφθῆναι.

Instead of πένθος, the more commonly accepted restoration, M. Rangabé reads πενίαν, and on this the idea of the promotion of mutual assistance is based. But, as M. Foucart has shown,[2] the assessment in such confraternities was the same for all; there was no distinction between poor and rich, and no "*solidarité*" between poor and rich. And this rigid enforcement was equally necessary to the existence of the Greek ἔρανοι and the Roman *Collegia*.

Burial was the only purpose for which advances were made from the common chest.[3]

On the general influence of the Greek ἔρανοι and θίασοι, M. Foucart's opinion[4] is distinctly unfavourable. After an exhaustive examination of

[1] *Antiquités Helléniques*, No. 811.

[2] P. 141.

[3] See also Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, vol. ii. p. 269 ff.

[4] *Des Associations Religieuses*, chap. xvii. p. 177 *seq.* See also Liebenam, *Geschichte der Romischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 171 *note*, who confirms this view.

the inscriptions and other remains bearing on the subject his verdict is that the effect of these cults and associations was to bring down religion to the eastern type with grosser conceptions and symbols than had prevailed under the state religion, which, as the centre of political life, had necessarily a more elevating tendency.

The best that could be said of them would be a repetition of the ancient description of Aristotle.[1] "Certain associations seem to have no object but pleasure (*δι' ἡδονὴν γίγνεσθαι*). They have been formed to offer sacrifices and to furnish opportunities in connection with them for recreation (*συνουσίας*). They honour the gods, and procure for their members rest and enjoyment."

While the state religion of Greece showed a certain approximation to refinement and morality, the vulgar were attracted by the looseness and the disorderly rites connected with the *θίασοι*; and the effect of these associations, and the cults they represented could hardly be characterized as morally progressive.

When we turn to consider the character and influence of the Roman *Collegia* and *Sodalicia* we

[1] Arist., *Eth. Nic.* viii., ix. 7. Ziebarth (*Griechischen Vereine*, pp. 16, 163) mentions relief of sick and poor in one or two cases of *ἔρανοι*. But *cf.* Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, 335 *ff.*

find that they had many points in common with the corresponding Greek associations. There was the same antiquity of origin, the same rapid development during the early years of the Empire. Their religious character is less marked and definite. They originated more frequently in the natural desire for union and association, and the sense of its value, which was perhaps more strongly marked among the Romans than among any of the nations of antiquity.[1] The *sodalicia*[2] or religious confraternities were undoubtedly more ancient than the trade or other secular corporations; and, as their name implies, the common meal was their most prominent feature.[3] But at Rome the formation of guilds of this kind encountered greater difficulties than elsewhere. From early times they had been regarded with some suspicion, and the patrician feeling was opposed to them, as tending to break down the

[1] See Mommsen, *de Collegiis et Sodaliciis*, p. 116. "Res collegiaria Græcorum minoris momenti fuisse videtur quam fuit Romana"; and Boissier, ii. p. 248.

[2] Under the Empire *sodalicia* and *collegia* became synonymous. *Cf.* Liebenam, p. 165.

[3] *Cf. Sodales dicti quod una sederent et essent* (Festus, Ed. Müller), p. 296; *cf.* Cic. de Senect. 13. On the terminology see Liebenam, *Geschichte*, p. 165, who differs from Mommsen and Beaufort, *Repub. Rom.* vi. 2.

influence of the idea of the family and the state, as the great centres of society; and under the earlier Emperors repressive enactments against them were frequent, though comparatively ineffectual.[1] Such associations steadily grew in favour, more especially among the people at large, until in the end it became advisable that they should receive official recognition from the state.[2]

The organization of these societies at Rome itself, and in the parts of the Empire more immediately under the influence of Rome, was marked by that excellence of method and discipline which was so characteristic of the Roman people; and their classifications and divisions present some interesting points of resemblance to those of the Cœnobites and other monastic associations of the Christian Church in the fourth and fifth centuries.[3] But when one seeks for anything in the way of possible sources of higher influence on the social life or customs of the early Christians there is no trace of it.

Undoubtedly religion entered largely into these

[1] See Appendix II. for the legislation on the subject, and its bearing on the Agapé.

[2] Boissier, ii. p. 251. Ramsay (on 1 Cor.) xxxv.

[3] *Cf.* Jerome, *Ep.* xxii. 35, with Orelli, no. 5. Also Jerome, *Ep.* xxx. 3, and *De Vir. Illustr.* xi.

associations, but, as M. Boissier[1] puts it, it is extremely difficult to determine how much reality underlay the appearance of religion, with which these Roman confraternities loved to surround themselves. Whatever the case may have been in earlier times, at the period which is of importance for the purposes of this investigation, though all the religious forms survived, enthusiasm in connection with them had declined, and material interests and worldly pleasures predominated.[2]

And, lastly, we find that, as in the case of the Greek confraternities, there is little or no trace either of high moral qualification for membership, or of anything like systematic charity or almsgiving in connection with these institutions. Professor Mommsen[3] is inclined to think that help was sometimes given to sick or needy members.

M. Renan[4] gives a fascinating description of what he regards as the exalted character of these gatherings. "They took place on the feast days

[1] P. 288.

[2] Boissier, p. 268.

[3] Mommsen, *de collegiis et sodaliciis*, p. 115, and p. 117 *seq.* *Cf.* Plin., *Ep. ad Traj.* 93, "ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam." *Cf.* Liebenam, pp. 40-1. Ramsay (on 1 Cor.) xxxii.

[4] *Les Apôtres*, chap. xviii.

of the patron (god), and on the anniversaries of certain brethren who had founded benefactions. Every one carried thither his little basket (*sportula*); one of the brethren in turn furnished the accessories of the feast. The slave who had been enfranchised gave his companions an amphora of good wine. A gentle joy stimulated the festival; it was expressly stipulated that there should be no discussion of the business of the College, so that nothing should disturb the *quart d'heure* of happiness and rest which these poor people reserved for themselves.[1] Every act of turbulence and every ill-natured word was punished by a fine."[2]

Here indeed we seem to be face to face with a true Agapé, which the early Christians might well emulate.

But the dry light of facts as shown by fuller consideration of the inscriptions and surviving regulations, tends to dissipate something of the atmosphere of the highest brotherly love which is made to surround the elements of good fellow-

[1] *Inscr. Lanuvii.* (Orelli 6086) "Placuit si quis quid queri aut referre volet in conventu referat, ut quieti et hilares . . . epulemur."

[2] *Ib.* "Si quis in opprobrium alter alterius dixerit aut tumultuatus fuerit, ei multa esto."

ship and happy entertainment which these feasts seem undoubtedly to have promoted.[1]

M. Boissier, who has carefully studied *all* the

[1] See *e.g.* the necessary restrictions on such feasts mentioned by A. Gellius (ii. 24): "Jurare apud consules verbis conceptis non amplius in singulas cœnas esse facturos quam centenos vicenosque æris præter olus et far et vinum . . . neque argenti in convivio plus pondo quam libras centum illaturos." Varro (*de Re Rustica*, iii. 2, 16) describes the life of the Rome of his day (*circa* 37 B.C.) as a daily feasting and revel. "Quotus enim quisque est annus quo non videas epulum aut triumphum aut collegia non (?) epulari, quæ nunc innumerabilem incendunt annonam. Sed propter luxuriam, inquit, quodam modo epulum quotidianum est intra januas Romæ." The following inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.* iii. p. 924) gives a rather different picture from that of Lanuvium. It is from Alburnus in Pannonia, and some thirty years later than that of Lanuvium, viz. A.D. 167:—

"Descriptum et recognitum factum ex libello qui propositus erat Alb(urno) majori ad statione(m) Resculi in quo scriptum erat id quod in(fra) scriptum est."

Artemidorus Appolloni magister collegi Jovis Cerneni et Valerius Niconis et Offas Monofili, qu(a) estores collegi ejusdem posito hoc libello publice testantur: ex collegio supra s(cripto) ubi erant ho(mines) liiii. ex eis non plus remansisse ad Alb(urnum) quam h(omines) xvii.; Julium Juli quoque commagistrum suum ex die magisteri sui non accessisse ad Alburnum neq(ue) in collegio: se que eis qui præsentes fuerunt, rationem reddidisse; et si quid eorum (h)abuerat reddidisset sive funeribus et cautionem suam in qua eis caverat recepisset, modo que autem neque funeraticio sufficerent neque loculum (h)aberet neque quisquam tam magno tempore diebus quibus legi (sc. collegii) continetur, convenire voluerint aut conferre funeraticia sive munera: se que i(d)circo per hunc libellum publice testantur (testari) ut si quis defunctus fuerit ne putet se collegium (h)abere aut ab eis aliquem petitionem funeris habiturum."

inscriptions bearing on the subject is of a very different opinion. "Without wishing,"[1] he says, "to diminish the services which these associations have rendered to humanity one is bound to recognise that the good which they have done has not gone beyond certain fixed limits, and above all that it often is only on the surface."[2] . . . "The fact that slaves were admitted to the membership of these societies is in itself a proof of a certain moral elevation. While taking part in the gatherings, they lost something of the sense of degradation which they were made to feel so painfully in domestic service; but their ordinary condition and treatment does not appear to have been materially improved by these occasional and exceptional privileges, which they were permitted to enjoy."

"Propositus Alb(urno) majori V. Idus Febr. Imp. L. Aur(elio) Vero iii. et Quadrato cs. Actum Alb(urno) majori."

Cf. Tertull., *Apologet.* chap. vi.: "Quonam illæ leges abierunt sumptum et ambitionem comprimentes? Quæ centum aera non amplius in cœnam subscribi jubebant." *Cf.* also Tacit., *Annal.* iii. 52 (of the year 22 A.D.), "domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui immensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur"; and *ib.* chaps. liii., liv.; *Hist.* i. 21, 30.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 302.

[2] Liebenam, *Geschichte*, p. 41, takes a slightly higher view of their moral significance. *Cf.* Maué, *Præfectus Fabrum*, p. 29.

The *name* of brotherhood was sometimes used in connection with these associations, but there is little evidence that it was much more than a name. And, as time went on, and the term became common among Christians, we learn from Minucius Felix, that it was a source of ill feeling towards them on the part of the heathen. "*Sic nos*," he says, "*quod invidetis fratres vocamus*."[1] And Tertullian[2] speaks to the same effect. "They are wroth with us, too, because we call each other brethren; for no other reason, as I think, than because among themselves names of consanguinity are assumed in mere pretence of affection (*sanguinis nomen de affectione simulatum est*). But we are your brethren as well by the law of our common mother Nature, though you are hardly men because brothers so unkind." Indeed nothing will show the essential difference between the pagan and Christian associations better than a few words from the same passage of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* (chap. 39), the classical passage on the Christian Agapé.

"Our presidents are the men of age and standing amongst us (*probati quique seniores*), who have gained their distinction not by money but

[1] *Octav.* 31. [2] *Apol.* 39.

by merit (*testimonio*). For money counts not in the things of God (*neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat*). Even though we have a kind of treasure-chest, it is not made up of *douceurs*[1] as in a religion that has its price. Every man places there a small contribution on one day of the month, or whensoever he will, so he do but will, and so he be but able; for no man is constrained, but contributes willingly. These are, as it were, the deposits of piety. For expenditure is not incurred therefrom upon feasting or drinking, or on disgusting[2] haunts of gluttony; but for feeding and burying the poor, for boys and girls without fortune and without parents, for old men now confined to the house; for the shipwrecked likewise, and any who are in the mines, or in the islands, or in prison; provided they are (suffering) there for the sake of God's way (*sectæ*), they become the nurslings[3] (*alumni*) of their creed (*confessionis*)."

There is no evidence that the pagan associations,

[1] *De honoraria summa*, *v. l. dehonoraria*, *i.e.* "no sum is there collected discreditable to religion." See Oehler's note and *infra*, chap. ii.

[2] Ingratis. "Ingratiis," the best supported reading seems pointless where it stands.

[3] Or pensioners.

good as they were up to a certain point, ever attained to anything like what is described here—even allowing something for the exaggeration of a partisan. There is nothing to show that their funds were regularly employed to give bread to the poor, to educate the orphan, to succour the aged. It was not in the nature of such associations to do so.

And even if Tertullian's statement should not be considered sufficient, it does not stand alone. The heathen Emperor Julian himself attributes the success of Christianity to the care which it takes of the stranger and the poor, and to the fact that "it recommends the priests of its religion to build especially hospitals, and to distribute aid to mendicants of all religious persuasions."[1]

It seems clear, then, that the heathen confraternities did not do these things.

As one looks back on this necessarily brief survey of the character and influence of the heathen religious associations and guilds, not only Greek and Roman, but also as influencing both, Oriental, there seems nothing in them to indicate any possi-

[1] Julian, *Epist.* xlix., quoted by Boissier, ii. p. 304. See below, p. 144.

bility of direct influence[1] upon or connection with the original Christian love-feasts. Amidst a number of external resemblances and coincidences there is a clearly marked and essential distinction which, even apart from the absence of any traces of historical connection, is enough to cut the ground from any possible hypothesis as to their close relation or interdependence.

But this summary has had another object in view, viz., to show how the social movements and instincts, which these heathen institutions suggest, must have had undoubted effect on the subsequent history, if not on the origin, of the Agapé.

Their tendency would be on the one hand to render the acceptance and development of the Agapé among the Gentile Christians easier; and on the other hand, as we shall see later, to promote some at least of those temptations and occasions of abuse which ultimately proved fatal to what was in its inception a beautiful and intensely characteristic Christian custom.

[1] Th. Harnack (*Gottesdienst*, etc., p. 88, 89) points out (1) the inconceivability of Jewish Christians with their well known aversion to all heathen practices adopting any custom from such a source; and (2) the improbability of the mother Church of Jerusalem borrowing important customs from the congregations of Asia Minor; *cf. contra* Rothe, *de primord. Cult. Christ.* p. 8.

II

Jewish Analogues.

I

The Evidence of the Old Testament as to Social Meals.

The evidence of the Old Testament on this subject may seem to have but a comparatively remote bearing on the history of the Agapé; but the general principles which it involves, and the tendencies which it illustrates are so far-reaching that it can hardly be regarded as unimportant for the purposes of this investigation to summarise this evidence, however briefly and inadequately.

The custom of social religious meals appears from the earliest times in connection with sacrifices as, *e.g.*, in Genesis (xxxi. 54), where we read that Jacob offered a sacrifice in the mountain and called his brethren to eat bread. This custom was further developed under the Mosaic Law, not only in connection with the Passover (Deut. xvi. 7), but with the tithe and first!ing meals, to which the poor and slaves were directed to be admitted (Deut. xvi. 11). In later days we find Samuel represented as presiding at such a meal (1 Sam.

ix. 12)[1]: "The people have a sacrifice to-day in the high place . . . ye shall straightway find him before he go up to the high place to eat; for the people will not eat till he come, because he doth bless the sacrifice; and afterwards they eat that be bidden." In the book of Tobit (ii. 1) we read: "Now when I was come home again, and my wife Anna was restored to me, and my son Tobias in the feast of Pentecost, which is the holy feast of the seven weeks, there was a good dinner prepared for me, and I sat down to eat. And I saw abundance of meat, and I said to my son, Go and bring what poor man soever thou shalt find. . . ."

Religious feasts also came to be associated with family events such as the weaning of children (Gen. xxi. 8), or marriage (Judges xiv. 10), or birthdays (*cf.* Gen. xl. 20, non-Hebrew), or the receiving or departure of friends (*cf.* Gen. xxiv. 33; Tobit viii. 20), and to be usual at sheep-shearing, vintage, and at funerals, etc. A detailed description of these may be found in Winer's[2] *Realwörterbuch*, ii. p. 182 (see i. p. 319) and the authorities there quoted.

The Israelites were forbidden to attend the

[1] *Cf.* also 1 Sam. xx. 6; 2 Sam. vi. 19, xv. 12; Neh. viii. 10; Ezek. xxxix. 17 *seq.*; Zeph. i. 7; Amos iv. 5.

[2] *Cf.* also Binterim, *Denkwurdigkeiten*, vol. ii. pt. 1.—ii. *ad init.*

heathen sacrificial feasts, partly because this would have implied taking part in the *cultus* of the gods, partly because they would then have had to partake of unclean sacrificial meats.

The *rationale* of these common meals of the Israelites, so far as they were sacrificial, is given at length in Dr Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*,[1] where he mentions that "*zébaḥ* and *minḥa*, sacrifices slain to provide a religious feast, and vegetable oblations presented at the altar make up the sum of the ordinary religious practices of the older Hebrews."

While in the case of the former the whole significance of the rite consists in the act of communion between God and man, the worshipper being allowed to eat of the same holy flesh, of which a part is laid on the altar as "the food of the Deity";[2] in the case of the *minḥa* there is nothing of the kind, the whole consecrated offering is regarded as the Lord's, and the worshipper's part in the service is completed as soon as he has made over his gift."[3] "In old Israel all slaughter was sacrifice, and a man could never eat beef or mutton except as a religious act, but cereal food had no such sacred

[1] P. 221. [2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 222. [3] *Ibid.* p. 223.

associations; as soon as God had received His due of first fruits, the whole domestic store was common." Though this distinction does not seem to have been always clearly observed, it is a valuable clue to the understanding of a difficult subject.

"As early as the time of Samuel we find religious feasts of clans or of towns. . . . The law of the feast was open-handed hospitality;[1] no sacrifice was complete without guests; and portions were freely distributed to rich and poor within the circle of a man's acquaintance. . . ."

"The[2] ethical significance which thus appertains to the sacrificial meal, viewed as a social act, received particular emphasis from certain ancient customs and ideas connected with eating and drinking. According to antique ideas, those who eat and drink together are by this very act tied to one another by a bond of friendship and mutual obligation." . . . "The act of eating and drinking together is the solemn and stated expression of the fact that all those who share the meal are brethren, and that all the duties of friendship and brotherhood are implicitly acknowledged in their common act."

[1] P. 236. [2] P. 247.

Without following the writer into the discussion of difficult or disputed points connected with the history of sacrifice or of sacrificial meals, it is enough for our purpose to remark on the deep-seated significance of the traditional custom of sacrificial and common meals among the Hebrews, which this evidence of the Old Testament testifies to.

The survival and development of those ancient traditions in New Testament times would naturally prepare one to expect the facts which the following pages[1] indicate.

Jewish Analogues.

II

There is a well-known passage in Eusebius,[2] in which he speaks of Philo and his writings, and mentions especially his treatise "On the Contemplative Life," in which an account is given of the remarkable sect of the *Therapeutæ.* These "apostolic men of Philo's day, probably sprung from the Hebrews," Eusebius considers to have been Christians, and the progenitors of the "ascetics" of his own day.

[1] *i.e.* chap. i.

[2] *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 17.

And St Jerome[1] seems to have adopted the view of Eusebius without further investigation, and to have regarded the *Therapeutæ* as closely resembling the monks of his own time.[2] But there is nothing whatever in the writer's description of the *Therapeutæ* to suggest the idea of their being Christians. On the contrary, he speaks[3] expressly of their being "disciples of Moses," and living "in accordance with his admonitions and precepts." It would be beyond the scope of this investigation to discuss at length the somewhat difficult question of the origin and history of the *Therapeutæ*.[4] It is enough to say that Philo himself connects them with the Essenes, though he calls the latter "practical," the former "speculative" in their lives; and that it is generally admitted that the *Therapeutæ* were Alexandrian Hellenistic Jews, though it is hard to determine whether they formed an organised sect, or were an esoteric circle of "Contemplatives," such as the writer says he found among all nations, but who

[1] *De Viris Illustr.* chap. xi., and *Epist.* xxii.

[2] See also Epiphanius, *Panarium*, chap. xxix., and F. C. Conybeare's *Philo*, etc., Preface, and p. 320.

[3] *De Vita Contemplativa*, vii.-viii.

[4] It has recently been done by Mr F. C. Conybeare in his interesting edition of *Philo*, *De Vita Contemplativa*. See especially his *Excursus*.

had had a special "retreat" in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, to which Philo himself was in the habit of retiring.

But Philo's account of their mode of life[1] suggests possible points of contact with the Christian Agapé; and may therefore perhaps be noticed with advantage at this stage of our enquiry.

The *Therapeutæ* are described as looking upon "the seventh day as one of perfect holiness, and a most complete festival,"[2] on which they appear to have held a common meal, but one far inferior to that which is described as taking place at the end of seven weeks,[3] when they assembled in white garments, and after prayer to God that the entertainment might be acceptable, sat down to meat—the men on the right hand, the women apart on the left. The attendants were not slaves, but freemen, who served voluntarily. The fare was of the simplest—not wine, but only the clearest water, bread, and salt, with hyssop as a relish for invalids. During[4] the meal a passage of Scripture was read, or explained, or discussed —apparently by the president (chap. x). Then

[1] *Cf.* also Edersheim (*ut infra*), p. 35.
[2] Philo, *Vita Contempl.* chap. iv.
[3] Chap. viii.
[4] *Cf. The Canons of Hippolytus*, *infra*, pp. 112, 113.

followed hymns or psalms, sung by individuals; then a special course of "that most holy food the leavened bread," with salt and hyssop, out of reverence for "the sacred table, which lies in the holy outer temple." And then the festival was prolonged through the night, two choruses of men and women, each with its chosen leader (chap. xi.), singing together, or in turn, with accompanying dances or gesticulations; the whole closing with a thanksgiving similar, apparently, to the Passover *Hallel*, and with prayer; after which they separated.

Both this entertainment and the common meals of the Essenes, who, as is more commonly known, have also been (wrongly) identified by some with the early Christians, show points of contact with Tertullian's description of the Agapé.

The Essene banquets are mentioned both by Josephus and Philo.[1] The earliest account is in one of the first of Philo's works, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, which is commonly dated at about 20 A.D.

He says: "Their love of man revealed itself in their kindliness, their equality, their fellowship passing all words. For no one had his private house, but shared his dwelling with all; and living

[1] And by Hippolytus, *Refut. Hæres.* lib. ix. 18-28.

as they did in companies (θιάσοις),[1] they threw open their doors to any of their sect who came their way. They had a storehouse, common expenditure, common raiment, common food eaten in Syssitia or common meals. This was made possible by their putting what they had into a common fund, out of which the sick also were supported, when they could not work."

Eusebius in a fragment of Philo, which he quotes, gives a similar description:[2] "They have no private property, but put all they have into a common fund, and live as members of a θίασος or philosophic company, having common meals."

Josephus has frequent references to the Essenes; and after mention of their sun-worship, describes their common meals in terms that recall those of the *Therapeutæ*.[3] "After this they assemble together to one place, and when they have clothed themselves in white veils they bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over they meet together in an apartment of their own into which it is not permitted to anyone of another

[1] The Hellenic technical term is noteworthy. *Cf.* Liebenam, p. 164 ff.

[2] Fragm. ap. Euseb. *Præpar. Evangel. de Vita Contempl.* *Cf.* also Pliny, H. N., v. 17.

[3] B. J., ii., viii., 5.

persuasion to enter; and they themselves being pure enter the dining-room as if it were some holy temple, and quietly sit down. Upon which the baker lays them loaves in order, and the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before everyone of them. But the priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful to taste of the food before prayer is offered."

"And when they have made their breakfast, he again prays over them. And when they begin, and when they end, they praise God as Him that bestoweth life."

"After which they lay aside their white garments as holy, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening. Then they return home to supper after the same manner."

When these descriptions are compared with that of the Agapé by Tertullian at the close of the second century A.D., the points of contrast and likeness will become clear.

"Our[1] supper shows its explanation in its name. It is called by the Greek name for love. Whatever outlay it costs, all is gain that is laid out in doing good (*pietatis nomine*), for it is the needy that we benefit by that entertainment (*refrigerio*

[1] *Apologet.* chap. xxxix.

isto). . . . We taste first of prayer to God before we sit down to meat; we eat only what suffices hunger, and drink only what befits such as are chaste. We satisfy appetite (*saturantur*) as those who remember that even during the night they have to worship God. We converse as those who know that they are in the hearing of their Lord. After water for washing the hands, and the lights have been brought in, every one is called forward to sing praises to God, either from the Holy Scriptures or of his own composing (*proprio ingenio*). And this is a proof of the measure of the drinking. As we began, so the feast is concluded with prayer. We depart not like a pack of ruffians (*cæsionum*), nor in gangs of street-walkers (*classes discursationum*), nor to break out into licentiousness, but with as much regard for our modesty and chastity as if we had been taking in a moral lesson rather than a supper (*ut qui non tam cœnam cœnaverint quam disciplinam*)."

The points in common[1] between these Therapeutic and Essene banquets and the Christian Agapé are obvious at a glance. There is the

[1] Mr F. C. Conybeare draws out the general points of comparison between Essenism and Christianity in Hasting's *Dict. Bibl. s.v.* Essenes.

same sacred and ceremonial character in all three; the same studious moderation in food, the same idea of accompanying prayer, and blessing and thanksgiving, and hymn-singing. The *Therapeutæ* seem to have allowed more ceremonial enthusiasm in singing and dancing. The Essenes had a president,[1] to whom the same name is applied as to the president of the Christian feast by Justin Martyr, and by Tertullian in one or two passages (*e.g. de Cor.* iii.). But the Jewish elements in the Therapeutic and Essene meals are strongly marked.[2] They seemed to have dined together because of their anxiety to eat no food but what was ceremonially pure; whereas the Christians, according to Tertullian, were actuated by charitable and communistic motives. Again, the Therapeutic meals have special features due partly to the monastic character of the society, and partly to their resemblance to the Jewish festivals, features which have, of course, no counterpart in Tertullian's account. And in certain respects there is perhaps more resemblance

[1] *Cf.* Hippolytus, *Refut. Hæres.* bk. ix. chap. xv., etc., who apparently borrows from Josephus.

[2] Mr Conybeare in his comparison seems to assume the identity of the Eucharist and Agapé. See *Dict. Bible* (Hastings), *s.v.* Essenes.

between these Jewish meals, and those described in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*,[1] which is now generally believed to be a strongly Judaising document.[2]

Jewish Analogues.

III

I PASS next to the consideration of the ordinary Jewish common meals as established in Palestine in the time of our Lord.

Those of the Sadducees seem to have been chiefly, if not exclusively, held among the priests

[1] Where it is difficult to disentangle the Agapé from the Eucharist. *Cf. infra*, p. 53.

[2] *Cf. e.g.* Didaché, chaps. ix. and x. with Josephus *loc. cit.* and Mishna Beracoth, chap. vi., where for wine the blessing is "who createst the fruit of the vine"; and Matt. xxvi. 29, *τοῦ γεννήματος τοῦ' ἀμπέλου*; and Grotius (*de Cœna Dom.* p. 22), "Mos erat Hebrais, qui et nunc manet, festis diebus quos bonos vocant vocare ad cœnam propinquos, vicinos aut amicos, supra decem, infra viginti, quæ erat justâ sodalitas sive *φρατριά*, exponente Josepho (B. J. vi. 9, 3). Cœnæ fine panis melior ac frangi facilis ad ferebatur: de eo particulas convivator dividebat convivis: adferebatur et calix, qui et ipse a convivatore libatus ibat in orbem. Addebantur verba Deo gratias agentia quod creasset panem ex terra ac fructum vitis." This is evidently founded on Buxtorf's *Synagogæ Judaicæ*, pp. 308-9 (of *Sabbath* observances). *Cf.* Luke xiv. 1, of a Sabbath feast; and Rabbinic Tracts, *Orach chajim*, No. 273, *Minhagim*, p. 9. For the thanksgiving *cf.* also Justin M., *Apol.* i. 65. Also *cf.* Agapé in Egyptian Church Ordinances *infra*, p. 119.

in the Temple, when they ate the flesh of victims which had been previously offered upon the altar. These meals began with ablutions. Then they blessed the bread, the meal, the wine, and the meat. These repasts concluded with a benediction, and the table at which they were held was regarded as a kind of altar.

The Pharisees, though they differed from their opponents the Sadducees in thinking that all the offerings should be burnt on the altar in the Temple, still, in order not to be behind hand, imitated these feasts. "They instituted brotherhoods; they practised ablutions before sitting down to table, and had the viands purified by the benediction pronounced on them."

"Any sort of viands served for these banquets, and everyone was a priest on the occasion, for the table was open to all. It was at one of these gatherings of the brotherhood that the paschal lamb was eaten on the evening of the first day of the Passover."[1]

In order to obviate the difficulties caused by large membership of the brotherhood, houses were joined together by beams, so that the whole might

[1] Stapfer, *Palestine in the time of Christ*, p. 323 *sqq.* Mishna treatises *Pesachim* and *Beracoth* (tr. de Sola).

be regarded as one dwelling, and all the tables as one gigantic table.[1]

A variety of these rules of the *Erub*, as it was called, was the connection of courts, which was effected by all the inhabitants collecting a certain amount of food before a Sabbath or Holy Day, and putting it in an appointed place, thus showing that they regarded the entire court, and all that belonged to it, as a common whole. But beyond the idea of union which it involves, there does not appear to be very much contact between this latter practice and the Agapé of the early Christians.

The combination for purposes of *exclusion* which was so strongly marked a characteristic of the Jewish associations stands in marked contrast to Tertullian's subsequent description of the Agapé, "which explains itself by its name" (*Apologet.* chap. xxxix).

It may be well, before passing from this part of the subject, to refer to the ordinary routine of a Jewish meal as given in the Talmud (*Beracoth* 43a, 47b, 40b).

[1] See on the whole subject the *Mishna*, tr. by de Sola, chaps. vi. and vii. (Erubim); Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, Appendix xvii.; Schürer, *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, div. ii. vol. ii. p. 123 *sqq.*; also Josephus, B. Jud. vi. 9, 3, who speaks of each φρατρία at the feast as not less than ten.

On the first entrance of the guests they sit down on chairs, and water is brought them with which they perform ablutions with one hand. With this hand they take the cup when they afterwards bless the wine which they partake of before the meal. Then all recline at table. Again water is brought. This time they wash both hands, as a preparation for the meal, when the blessing is spoken over the bread, and then over the cup, by the chief person at the feast, or by a guest to whom the privilege is accorded. The company respond by saying *Amen*,[1] provided the benediction has been spoken by an Israelite, and not by a heathen, a slave, or a law-breaker, or an unlettered man, though exception was made in the case of a Cuthæan (*i.e.* heretic or else Samaritan) who was learned. After dinner the crumbs, if any, were carefully gathered, hands were again washed, and he who had first done so led the prayer of thanksgiving according to a prescribed formula.[2]

[1] *Cf.* Justin's famous description of the Eucharist, *Apol.* i. chap. lxvii., ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ τὸ Ἀμήν.

[2] See Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. p. 207.

CHAPTER I

THE AGAPÉ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN considering the history of the Agapé in the New Testament we are met by two very serious difficulties at the outset of our enquiry. The first is the scantiness of the references to the Agapé; the second is the scarcity of materials for forming a sufficiently clear idea of the exact life and practice of the earliest Christians—such, for instance, as would enable us to see plainly the exact relation in which the Agapé stood to the Eucharist.

The best hope of clearing up these difficulties seems to lie in gathering together such indications of the common meals as remain to us in the New Testament, and reading them in the light of subsequent practice as shown, for instance, by the early fathers.

The account given in the Introduction of the customs of the Essenes and *Therapeutæ*, as well

as of the common meals in connection with the Jewish sacrifices and festivals, will have made it plain how thoroughly a common meal was associated in the Jewish mind with religious ideas, and how such meals tended to symbolise a common faith. We should naturally expect to find this idea surviving in the infant Christian community, saturated as it was with Jewish associations. And both our Lord's teaching and practice tend to justify this expectation.

Again and again He uses the image of a supper to symbolise His Kingdom.[1] His miraculous feeding of the multitude, with the connected discourses, presents the same idea in a different form. Not only in connection with the Last Supper, but again and again He is represented as sitting at meat with His disciples—taking His place as Head of the household, which consisted of His immediate followers. His fellowship with His disciples was, in a word, to a large extent a "table-fellowship."

And so, after His Resurrection, St. Luke and

[1] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Luke xxii. 30, "That ye may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom." John xiii. 18, "He that eateth my bread lifted up his heel against me." Luke xiii. 26, "We did eat and drink in thy presence." *Cf.* also Matt. xv. 26, xi. 19; Acts x. 41; Luke xiv. 15; Rev. iii. 20; 2 Cor. ix. 10, etc.

St. John represent two of His most interesting manifestations of Himself in connection with meals, at which He appears to have been recognised by His manner of breaking bread (Luke xxiv. 30; John xxi. 13).

Accordingly we can understand that, even apart from the memorial[1] of His passion[2] instituted at the Last Supper, His followers would continue these meals with a conscious recollection of their relations with Him, and of the union constituted by Him. To them—Hebrews as they were by race and tradition—the very

[1] Since this was written I have seen the remarks of Probst (*Liturgie*, p. 18): "The religious devotion which sanctified the whole life of the early Christians was connected with these meals. Particularly the effect of the High Priestly Prayer entered in, 'Preserve them in Thy Name that they may be one.' These meals became the κοινωνία or manifestation of the Christian community, and later on received as such the name of love-meals or agapæ. As one among themselves so also should they be one with Christ, and through Him with the Father. . . . As the community increased the daily meal with the daily Eucharist became impossible. . . . And the daily meal changed itself into the Agapé in a narrow sense. It was no longer the ordinary meal to sustain the physical life; this each one took for himself at home; but a meal at which was manifested the Christian κοινωνία. . . . It gave opportunity to feed the poor. . . . It was held in the House Church."

[2] The text of the account of the Institution as given in St Luke is uncertain (see Westcott and Hort), but not in 1 Cor. I cannot believe that the Eucharist was "established" or seriously modified by so loyal a disciple of Christ as St Paul. See M'Giffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 538; Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 456; Sanday in Hastings' *D. B.*, ii. p. 638.

common meal itself would, as we have seen (pp. 22, 23), be a religious act.

It might, further, under the new dispensation in some sense be a type and evidence of the Kingdom of God (Luke xxii. 30) as existing among them, and ruling and transforming their whole social life.[1]

It would then be to the idea of perpetuating the thought of this fellowship with our Lord, rather than *merely* to a commemoration of the Last Supper,[2] that I should be disposed to refer

[1] Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i. p. 53 (E.T.), etc., draws this out at length.

[2] Bishop Lightfoot (*Apost. Fathers*, i. p. 386) refers the origin of the Agapé to the commemoration of the Last Supper. Others (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Harnack, *Gottesdienst*, p. 89) to the Old Testament sacrificial feasts. So also Drescher, *de Vet. Christ. Agapis*, i., and Grotius, *de Cœn. Admin.* p. 22. T. Harnack (*Gottesdienst*, p. 91) describes the origin of the Agapé as follows:—"The Agapæ developed themselves naturally out of the primitive repasts of the first congregation, and are only a modification of them, taking the altered circumstances into account. They have, like these, a specifically Christian origin under objective and subjective conditions. They are at one and the same time a meal of the love of Christ, and a meal of Christian brotherly love. One aspect is expressed by the name κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, the other by the title ἀγάπη. Both are comprehended in the oldest term κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου. They were most intimately connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Therein they have their justification, basis and object. Their value and worth are entirely in conjunction with it. Separated from it they were of subordinate importance merely, and were therefore, as history shows, bound to disappear gradually." *Cf.* Binterim, *Denkwurdigkeiten*, vol. ii., pt. i., ii. 1. Augusti, *Christlichen Archäologie*, ii. p. 704 ff.

the origin of the Agapé. No doubt the thought of the Last Supper helped to foster and establish the practice; but it is rather to the central doctrine of Christianity—the doctrine of Love—as associated with the customs of its Founder above mentioned—to that doctrine as embodied in the word Agapé,[1] and as working in Jewish minds already accustomed to constant religious feasts—it is rather to this than to the exclusive commemoration of the Last Supper, which was

[1] The very name "Agapé" shows undoubted connection with the new Commandment ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, and so with the Last Supper; but my point is that the Love Feast was a much more comprehensive commemoration of the disciples' relations with their Lord. Ἀγάπη is not found in earlier Greek, heathen or Alexandrian, in the sense of feast. Augusti (*Christ. Arch.* ii. p. 406) thinks it originated with St John. Spitta (*Urchristenthums*, i. p. 263) repudiates the idea of the Agapé as a Christian Passover. "Against this comes the frequent repetition of this act. . . . But besides this it is manifest that not a passage about this Agapé shows a characteristic likeness to the Paschal meal." The fact of the later *yearly* Christian Feast on Maundy-Thursday as a memorial of the Last Supper may perhaps strengthen this view.

On the other hand, the writer of the article in Herzog's *Real Encyklopadie* (2nd Ed.) on the Agapé finds its origin in the words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ὁσάκις ἂν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, "dieses thut, so oft Ihr irgend trinket, zu meinen Gedächtniss," by which he thinks our Lord meant that henceforth the Supper should be celebrated apart from the Passover feast, yet henceforth it should be united with a meal. . . . This meal, he holds, took place daily, conformably to our Lord's words, in the early Christian community (1 Cor. xi. 24; Acts ii. 42-6). *Cf.* Appendix I. c.

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founded on a *yearly* feast like the Passover Supper, that we should refer the origin of the constantly recurring Love Feast.

If the Agapé were intimately associated with the Paschal Supper, one naturally asks why was it celebrated so frequently, and why also did it gradually die out, if it had been enjoined by our Lord Himself, as had been the Eucharistic Feast?

With these few preliminary considerations I proceed to examine more in detail the references and allusions to the Agapé which we find in the New Testament.

The brief and summarised record of the social life of the earliest Christians which we find in the Acts (ii. 42), though not, apparently, composed before the picture presented to us in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, describes the life of the Church at Jerusalem, and therefore calls for notice first.

There is considerable difficulty with regard to this narrative, both because of the possibility of corruption in the text,[1] and because of the difficulty of determining the exact sense of some of the terms used.

"And they continued stedfastly in the Apostles'

[1] See, *e.g.*, Blass's *Commentary in loco.*

teaching, and in the fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and the prayers."[1]

The occurrence here of the expression *τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῇ κλάσει* without a connecting particle, and the fact that *κοινωνία* does not appear to be used absolutely elsewhere in the New Testament,[2] and that it is rarely so used in classical Greek, is worthy of remark.

If, as with our present knowledge seems inevitable, the reading of the earlier texts be retained, we may adopt the meaning given by Dr Armitage Robinson[3] to *κοινωνία*, viz., that "it is used in relation to the Christian society to express the idea of the fellowship in which it is united, and the acts of fellowship in which the idea is realised"; the Agapé would no doubt be one of those acts; and, though it is not expressly referred to here,

[1] *ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.* So W. H. Rec. ins. *καὶ* bef. *τῇ κλάσει* with $D^2EP\aleph^3$ 13 rel. om. $ABCD^1\aleph^1$p. (Alf.) Item et (d add *in*) *communicatione fractionis panis* d. vg. sah. cop. similiter $syr^{sch.}$ æth. (Tisch.)

[2] In Gal. ii. 9, *δεξιὰς . . . κοινωνίας* is hardly an exception.

[3] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, *s.v.* Communion. For a full discussion of *κοινωνία cf.* T. Harnack's *Gottesdienst*, p. 78 ff. He combats the idea that Acts ii. 42 is a direct description of the service of the first Christians, and interprets *κοινωνία* by *συμβίωσις*, of which the Agapé was one of the expressions. Probst (*Liturgie*, p. 23) takes *κοινωνία* to mean the common meal that took place with prayer and *διδαχή*.

the next words, "the breaking of bread," may have more direct application to it.[1]

This expression occurs again in chaps. ii. 46,[2] xx. 7, 11, xxvii. 35 — in all which passages, according to Blass,[3] "*est sollemnis designatio cœnæ dominicæ.*" Dr John Lightfoot[4] in his Commentary on the Acts draws attention to the fact that the Peshitto Syriac translates here by the expression "the bread of the Eucharist," and that the expression "breaking of bread" is very rarely used in the Old Testament[5] or in Jewish authors

[1] *Cf.* Acts ii. 44-7, *εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινὰ κ.τ.λ* with iv. 32, which, compared with 1 Cor. x. 16-19, and Chrysostom's expression (*Hom.* xxvii. in 1 Cor.) *ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης*, tempts one to connect *κοινωνίᾳ* closely with *τῇ κλάσει.* See Blass *in loco.*

[2] For *κατ'οἶκον cf.* v. 42 and xx. 20. [3] *Acta Apostol.* ii. 42.

[4] Works (Ed. Pitman), vol. viii. p. 60, pp. 383-4.

[5] *Cf.* Isaiah lviii. 7, where "break bread" (pāras leḥem) occurs; also Jer. xvi. 7 (and comments); Lament. iv. 4. It is interesting, in view of the Christian *κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου* as commemorative of Christ's *death*, to notice that breaking bread was part of the *funeral feast* among the Jews; *cf.* Jer. *u.s.*; Ezek. xxiv. 17; Hos. ix. 4; 2 Sam. iii. 35. See Hastings' *Dict. Bibl. s.v.* Bread. Dr M'Giffert's statement (*Apostolic Age*, p. 70) that "whenever they ate together, the *whole* meal was the Lord's Supper" ignores Lightfoot's evidence, and *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι* (1 Cor. xi. 25); *cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 34, *εἴ τις πεινᾷ ἐν οἴκῳ ἐσθιέτω.* Dr Edersheim (*The Temple*, etc., p. 209) points out that our Lord brake the bread "when he had given thanks" (1 Cor. xi. 24), *i.e.*, that the bread was the *Aphikomon* or after-dish, just as "the cup of blessing" followed on "the grace after meat"; *cf. Beracoth*, li. 1. In other words, *both* were at the end of the meal.

for common eating or for a *whole* meal, but that it is ordinarily applied to the blessing and breaking of bread with which the Jewish feasts began.

Taking all the passages where the expression occurs in the New Testament, one may say that while, on the one hand, it would be impossible to restrict it with certainty to the Eucharist proper, it seems in this passage to include the Eucharist, and what was subsequently known as the Agapé.[1]

The account of the common life of the early Christians is further supplemented in Acts ii. 46, "and day by day continuing stedfastly with one accord in the Temple and breaking bread at home (κλῶντές τε κατ'[2] οἶκον ἄρτον) they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart," where apparently the idea of that "table-fellowship," which, as we have seen, was so

[1] The—practically undoubted—combination of the two at first favours this view. See Hastings' *D. B.*, iii. p. 144.

[2] *Cf.* Col. iv. 15, τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν, which some think points to places set apart in private houses. *Cf.* Acts v. 42, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ' οἶκον; and xx. 20, δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ' οἴκους. Binterim sees here evidence of an already established distinction between the private and the public Agapé. *Cf. Philo de Plant. Noe* (p. 354), μηδὲ οἴκαδε πολλάκις ἀφικόμενοι ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἔθυσαν ἱεροῖς διαπατοῦντες of the Jewish feasts of his day sometimes celebrated in private houses. *Cf.* Acts xx. 8, ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ. *Cf.* Thayer, *Lexicon, s.v.*, "a room where the Orientals were wont to retire to sup, meditate, pray, etc.'

marked a feature[1] of the intercourse of our Lord with His disciples, seems to be a prominent symbol of their newly realised oneness in Him, an idea which finds its culmination in the Eucharist.

Passing to the next recorded stage of the community life of the infant Church, I proceed to examine the more detailed notices of this, which appear in the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

We are now, though probably at an interval of not more than twenty-five years, in contact with a very different condition of things. The picture is no longer that of a Jewish Christian community at Jerusalem, making use of the still standing Temple for part of their acts of public worship We have now to do with a mixed community far away from the dominant traditions of the great spiritual capital of the world, and living in the midst of heathen customs and associations.

And here we find traces of two meetings, not

[1] *Cf.* Acts i. 4, R.V., margin "and eating with them" (*συναλιζόμενος*, Vulg. *convescens*—the 'Western' rendering; see Knowling, *Expositor's Gk. Test. in loc.*), "he charged them." See also his note on Acts ii. 46. Edersheim (*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, p. 259) points out that Jewish synagogues were erected at the expense of private individuals, and that, in places where the Jews were few, a room in a private house was set apart. *Cf.* Acts v. 42 and previous note.

only that which in the Acts is connected with "the breaking of bread and the prayers," and possibly with "the ministry of the word" (Acts vi. 4[1]), but a second which seems to have originated in the synagogue, and, like it, to have given "liberty of prophesying," and to have aimed specially at instruction.

This is put before us in 1 Cor. xiv. 23 ff,[2] *ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό . . . πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω . . . δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἕνα πάντες προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες* [3] *παρακαλῶνται . . . ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων.*

The other meeting is that described in 1 Cor. xi. 18, 20, 22. It assembled *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, and included people of varied social condition (1 Cor. xi. 21, xiv. 23), and the *meal*, as followed by the Eucharist, seems to have been the chief object of the meeting.

[1] Where the repetition of the same words *τῇ προσευχῇ* and *προσκαρτερεῖν* seem to suggest a connection with chap. ii. 42; *cf.* with *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις* (the Agapé), and *cf.* Julian, *Epist. Frag.*, quoted *infra* p. 144, who applies the expression to the Agapé.

[2] *Cf.* v. 26, *ὅταν συνέρχησθε.*

[3] *Cf.* the Synagogue, Luke iv. 20, 21; "suffer the word of exhortation" (*παρακλήσεως*), Heb. xiii. 22; and 1 Cor. xii. 8 ff., "to one is given the word of wisdom," etc.

In considering the passage it may be well to draw attention to what seem to be the key-words, viz., *συνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* (which is used throughout the Epistle for the formal assembly of the congregation, *e.g.* 1 Cor. xi. 17, xi. 18, xi. 20, xi. 33, xi. 34, xiv. 23, xiv. 26); *οὐκ ἔστιν . . . φαγεῖν*,[1] which corresponds with (ver. 33) *συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν*, and *ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν προλαμβάνει* (ver. 21), which corresponds with *ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε* (ver. 33).

The practice of assembling for common meals seems without question implied, and the whole assembly is assumed as taking part in it (1 Cor. xi. 18, 20, 33). The common meal would normally culminate in the Eucharist, but abuses of various kinds have to be dealt with by the Apostle.

The first is the *σχίσματα* leading to *αἱρέσεις* (vv. 18, 19), and the cause is that, instead of a reverently eaten, religious meal leading up to the commemorative rite, an unseemly scramble takes

[1] For parallel usages of *ἔστιν* in the sense of "it is possible" *cf.* Heb. ix. 5, *Cant. Trium. Puer.* v. 9; 1 Esdras i. 4; Sirach xxix. 21; *Sap.* v. 10; 2 Macc. xiv. 19 (Schleusner). Bp. Ellicott and others translate "it is not to eat," but the obvious objection to this is that the Lord's Supper undoubtedly was one object of their meeting, though it had become nominal apparently.

place, in which each makes haste to take the provisions he has brought, *before* (προλαμβάνει) it has become possible to make a general[1] distribution of them.

Clearly according to the idea of this institution "all[2] the provisions should have been put[3] together and eaten in common by the whole Church. But selfishness, vanity, sensuality, had prevailed in this usage, and deeply corrupted it. These *Agapæ*[4] at Corinth had degenerated into something like those feasts of friends in use among the Greeks where men gave themselves up to drinking excesses such as we find sketched in the *Symposium* of Plato. And what was still graver . . . each was careful to reserve for himself and his friends the meats he had provided; hence it was inevitable that an offensive inequality should appear between the guests, becoming to many of them a source of humiliation, and contrasting absolutely with the spirit of love, of which such a feast should have been the symbol."

And there further resulted a second abuse, viz.,

[1] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 14, quoted in Appendix I. c.

[2] Godet on v. 20.

[3] Like the ἔρανος to which the Corinthians would have been accustomed. *Cf.* the Spartan συσσίτια.

[4] See Appendix I. c.

that, in this state of things a true *Lord's*[1] supper became impossible. If the commemorative rite was not altogether given up, it was grossly neglected. The[2] feeling for it was lost, the order probably thrown into confusion; so much so that St Paul has to remind his converts of the very Institution and formula of the rite. And the degeneracy seems to him so serious that he regards the prevailing sickness, and possibly even mortality[3] in the Church as a punishment for it.

The remedies he enjoins are that the meal itself should be thoroughly social, and that whosoever was too hungry to wait for the others should satisfy his hunger at home.[4] And then should follow the becoming celebration of the Lord's Supper at which everyone would be duly conscious of the difference between it and ordinary eating and drinking, proclaiming the Lord's death by taking part in this formal act of worship.

[1] The emphasis is clearly on *κυριακόν*. See note on *ἔστιν*, *supra*.

[2] *Cf.* Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, vol. i. p. 283 (E.T.).

[3] *Κοιμῶνται*.

[4] See Appendix i. for Dr J. Lightfoot's and St. Chrysostom's view, with which latter *cf.* fasting before the Passover, which was the Jewish practice. Mishna Treatise *Pesachim*, chap. x.: "It is not lawful for any individual to eat aught on the eve of the Passover from about the time of the *Mincha* till after dark" (De Sola, p. 122).

In the difficulties with which St Paul had to contend, as here described, we find what are commonly believed to be the earliest known reasons for the eventual [1] separation of the Agapé from the Eucharist.

And these difficulties and abuses are further emphasized in the later and express references to the Agapé [2] in the Epistle of St Jude, and the Second Epistle of St Peter. "These are they who are hidden rocks (σπιλάδες) in your love-feasts (ἀγάπαις) when they feast with you (συνευωχούμενοι), feeding (ποιμαίνοντες) themselves without fear" [3] (Jude 12). Or as the writer of the Second Epistle of Peter, who seems indebted to Jude,[4] puts it, "men that count it pleasure to revel in the daytime

[1] *Cf.* St Aug., *Ep. ad Januarium* 118 (54), where speaking of fasting Communion as the "mos" of the Church, he says of St Paul: "Statim subtexit *cætera autem cum venero ordinabo*, unde intelligi datur quia multum erat ut in epistola totum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret (quem universa per orbem servat Ecclesia) ab ipso ordinatum esse quod nulla morum diversitate variatur." See below, chap. ii.

[2] The *word* Agapé is, of course, not expressly applied to the customs mentioned in the Acts and 1 Corinthians, but the common identification of these feasts with the above seems well grounded. See *e.g.* the next note; and *cf.* 1 Pet. v. 14, ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης. See further Appendix i. *ad fin.*

[3] *Cf.* the τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει of St Paul.

[4] Or *vice versa*. For the present state of this controversy *cf.* Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 308, Hastings' *Dict. Bibl.* ii. Pet.

revelling in their love-feasts (ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν)[1] while they feast with you (συνευωχούμενοι)."[2]

[1] So R.V. Ἀπάταις has better external authority (see Tischendorf *in loco* and Scrivener, Introduction (third edition, p. 646), but the context (in spite of αὐτῶν), the similarity of both passages, and the reading by C of ἀπάταις in both cases, point to an early corruption of the text. In any case the *allusion* to love-feasts seems undoubted. Bishop Lightfoot (*Ignat. Smyrn.* p. 1001) calls ἀπάταις "an obvious error."

[2] For other references in the N.T. to licentious feasts, which might have had a corrupting influence on the Agapæ *cf.* Rom. xiii. 13, "let us walk honestly as in the day, not in revellings (κώμοις)," etc.; Gal. v. 21, "drunkenness, revellings, and such like"; Eph. v. 18; 1 Pet. iv. 3; *cf.* vv. 8, 9.

CHAPTER II

THE AGAPÉ IN THE SECOND CENTURY

THE separation of the Agapé from the Eucharist, which has been indicated in the last chapter, does not appear[1] to have taken effect during the Apostolic Age, nor for some time afterwards. In Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, *e.g.* (chap. xliv.), he speaks of bishops as of "those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblamably and holily" (*προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*), which Bishop Lightfoot[2] explains as "the prayers and thanksgivings, the alms, the Eucharistic elements, the contributions to the Agapé, and so forth." In Ignatius' Epistle to the Smyrnæans (chap. viii.) we read: "Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he

[1] In spite of St. Augustine's statement quoted above.

[2] See his note *in loco.*

shall have committed it. . . . It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or hold a love-feast" (*οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν*[1]), where, as Bishop Lightfoot says, "the two most important functions in which a bishop could have part seem to be described,"[2] so that the Eucharist seems to be still included in the Agapé. In *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (chap. x.) the thanksgiving is directed to be offered "after being filled"[3] (*μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*),[4] *i.e.*, apparently, after the Agapé; and the three-fold thanksgiving

[1] *Cf.* the later gloss on this reading, viz., *οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν*; and *The Canons of Hippolytus*, 172, "agapis *κυριακαῖς*," and *Apost. Const.* ii. 28, *τοῖς εἰς ἀγάπην ἤτοι δοχὴν ὡς ὁ κύριος ὠνόμασε προαιρουμένους πρεσβυτέραν.*

[2] *Cf.* Ignat., *Ep. Ephes.* i. 20, *ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες ὅ ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*, with *Smyrn.* i. 7, *συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν ἵνα καὶ ἀναστῶσιν* where some take *ἀγαπᾶν* = *ἀγάπην ποιεῖν*. See Lightfoot's notes *in locis*, pp. 307 and 313.

[3] *N.B.* the change of the expression in the corresponding passage in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 26, 1), *μετὰ δε τὴν μετάληψιν οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε*, showing the influence of later custom.

[4] But *cf.* chap. x. 6.: "If anyone be holy let him come, if anyone be not holy let him repent," which seems to point to the Eucharist. *Cf. Canons of Hippolytus*, 172-178, "in agapis *κυριακαῖς*. Edant bibantque ad satietatem neque vero ad ebrietatem, sed in divina præsentia cum laude Dei"; and Tertullian (*Apol.* chap. xxxix.), "Ita *saturantur* ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum deum sibi esse (of the Agapé)." See Warren, *Ante-Nicene Ritual*, p. 174.

includes a reference to the gifts of food, and drink, and to God's omnipotence.[1]

And later on (chap. xi.) the statement occurs: "He that ordereth a table (*ὁρίζων τράπεζαν*)[2] in the Spirit eateth not of it, except he be a false prophet"; which seems to be a reference to the holding of an Agapé, which might in some way be done by the prophet for his own benefit.

We come next to Pliny's famous letter to Trajan (commonly dated 112 A.D.) in which the reference to Christian worship is necessarily obscure because of the writer's evident want of clear information. The passage has naturally been much discussed in recent years, notably by Bishop Lightfoot and Professor W. M. Ramsay; and is so well known that it is needless to quote more of it than is necessary for our immediate purpose.[3] The state-

[1] *Cf.* Justin, *Apol.* i. 65; Hastings' *D. B.*, ii. p. 637.

[2] *Cf.* Acts vi. 2, *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*, and *Ep. Diognet.* (chap. v.) *τράπεζαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται.*

[3] "Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursus coeundi ad capiendum cibum promiscuum tamen et innoxium, quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram."

ments which are of most importance in this view are the evidence of two meetings of Christians *stato die*, one of which was *ante lucem*,[1] at which they were wont *sacramento se obstringere*, etc.

The other, the later one,[2] which is evidently the Agapé, had by this time been separated from that at which a *sacramentum* was taken.[3] What exactly this *sacramentum* refers to is not likely, with our present knowledge, to be decisively determined. It seems probable enough that Pliny hearing from the Christians of their use of the word *sacramentum* took it[4] "*sensu Romano*," not knowing anything of the early Christian objection to an oath of any kind. And accordingly Tertullian[5] in his subsequent reproduction of the passage, though he wrongly transcribes "*nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse*," probably gives the general sense rightly when he adds: "*quam cœtus antelucanos . . . ad confœderandum disciplinam*."[6]

[1] *Cf.* Tertullian's "etiam antelucanis cœtibus" (*De Cor.* chap. iii.).

[2] *Cf. supra* on 1 Cor. p. 46.

[3] T. Harnack (*Gemeinde Gottesdienst*, pp. 228, 229) discusses the passage and adds another possible reference in sacramentum, viz., preaching, to those given in the text.

[4] *Cf.* Mosheim, *de rebus Christianis*, p. 150.

[5] *Apologet.* chap. ii.

[6] For later paraphrases of the letter such as, *e.g.*, Eusebius H. E. iii. 32, 33, see Bishop Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. p. 50 ff.

There may be, as Bishop Lightfoot suggests, a confusion of the two sacraments; but, though Pliny did not so understand it, there are grounds for believing the meeting in question to have been that for the Eucharist, as we see, *e.g.*, from Tertullian's parallel statement (*de Corona*, iii.), when describing the usage of his own time, "*Eucharistiæ . . . sacramentum . . . antelucanis cœtibus . . . sumimus.*"[1] At any rate, the Eucharist could not—after this time at least—have been held at the later meeting, which was suppressed by Pliny's direction,[2] and it is inconceivable that the Christians in Bithynia could have abandoned *the Eucharist* in consequence of the action of the Roman authorities.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Tertull., *ad Uxor.* ii. 4, Quis enim sinat conjugem suam . . . nocturnis convocationibus, si ita oportuerit, a latere suo adimi libenter feret? Quis denique sollemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit? Quis ad convivium dominicum illud quod infamant sine sua suspicione dimittet?

[2] Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, 2nd Ed., p. 219.

[3] I find that Mr Hardy (*Correspondence of Pliny*, *in loc.*) agrees with me in laying stress on Tertullian's testimony, and I believe that Professor Ramsay takes the same view. Neumann thinks the Christians *did* suspend their morning meeting as well (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 219). Dr Armitage Robinson thinks that the Christians referred to by Pliny are the *renegades* only; that these gave up everything, but that other Christians gave up *nothing*. This view would, of course, deprive the passage of all direct value as evidence on the subject of the suspension of the Agapé. In any case it seems

We have no contemporary evidence as to whether or not the new departure here indicated from the Jewish custom of holding sacrificial and other feasts in the evening was partly due to an instinct of reverence; but several passages point to its being—primarily at least—due to the fear of persecution,[1] *e.g.* Origen (*c. Celsum*, I. i. *ad init.*) says, in answer to Celsus' impeachment of the "Agapé" as being a secret association in violation of the laws, that "if a man were placed among Scythians . . . and having no opportunity of escape were compelled to live among them, such an one would with good reason (εὐλόγως) enter into associations contrary to their laws." Similarly Tertullian (*de Fuga in Peresec.* ch. xiv.), "*Postremo si interdiu colligere*

clear that (1) the law against clubs was strictly enforced by Trajan, and therefore the Agapé presumably abandoned; (2) there is no mention of the earlier meeting being given up. See Appendix ii. It seems to me that the words "essent soliti" and "morem sibi fuisse" refer to the practice of *all* Christians at the time; and also that the mention of the abandonment of the second meeting, whether by the renegades or all Christians in the district, makes it plain that the earlier meetings did not come under the law against hetæriæ. Bp. Lightfoot says, "all alike had abandoned their Agapé" (p. 55).

[1] *Cf.* Acts xii. 12 ff., "the house . . . where many were gathered together and were praying," with ver. 6, "the same *night* Peter, etc."

non potes, habes noctem luce Christi luminosa[1] *adversus eam. Non potes discurrere per singulos; sit tibi et in tribus ecclesia,*" and Cæcilius Natalis quoted by Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, chap. viii.), "*Christiani latebrosa ac lucifuga natio in publicum muta, in angulis garrula.*"

The second statement of Pliny, "*Quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium,*" evidently refers to the Agapé; "ordinary and harmless food" showing the absence of luxury and display afterwards emphasized by Minucius Felix's saying, "we[2] celebrate our entertainments not only in a reverent, but also in an abstemious manner"; and the groundlessness of the well-known heathen slanders of *Ουέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις*,[3] etc.

Perhaps the main difficulty of Pliny's description in this connection is that of determining the exact light it throws on the question of the separation of the Agapé and the Eucharist.[4]

[1] "Luminosa" has most authority, "luminosam" gives a clearer sense. *Cf.* Oehler *in loc.*

[2] Min. Felix, *Octav.* chap. xxxi., "Convivia non tantum pudica colimus sed et sobria."

[3] See Bp. Lightfoot, *Ignat.* vol. ii. p. 53.

[4] For a discussion of it from another point of view, see Ramsay, *u.s.*, p. 206 ff.

On this question, as Bishop Lightfoot says, one of two alternatives is possible, either the separation *had*, as I have above suggested, already taken place —as to *when* there is no evidence—and the Eucharist had been transferred to *ante lucem*, or the two had hitherto been combined, and were *now* separated in consequence of the direction mentioned by Pliny. As we have seen above,[1] there is evidence that the two were united up to the time of Ignatius, unless we suppose that the term Agapé had been transferred to the Eucharist alone, which, in view of the subsequent usage of the term, seems highly improbable.[2]

We pass now to the account of the early Christian congregational worship in Justin Martyr.

In this there is no direct reference to the Agapé, which had apparently been given up in consequence of Trajan's strict enforcement of the law against *Sodalicia*;[3] but the mention of special

[1] P. 53 ff.

[2] It is, of course, possible that they were united even later; and it is also quite possible that the time of separation differed in different local churches; *cf.*, *e.g.*, the peculiar usages in the *Thebaid*, *infra* p. 91; and *The Canons of Hippolytus* (? 3rd cent.) *u.s.* ἀγάπαις κυριακαῖς.

[3] See Appendix ii. There is no certain evidence, however, of the universality of this prohibition, or of its equal enforcement throughout the Empire. Professor Ramsay, however, thinks that the discontinuance of the Agapé in Bithynia may be taken as a type of the action of Christians in this respect. (Church in R.E., p. 358.)

thanksgiving over ordinary food suggests the common meals. Describing the common life of Christians, Justin says (*Apol.* i. 67): "Those of us who are wealthy help all that are in want[1] (*τοῖς λειπομένοις*), and we always remain together (*σύνεσμεν*[2]). And for all things that we eat (*προσφερόμεθα*)[3] we bless the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost." This passage naturally suggests comparison with the thanksgiving in the *Didaché* (chap. x. 3): "Thou, O Almighty Ruler, madest all things for Thy name's sake. Thou gavest men food and drink for enjoyment that they might give thanks to Thee."[4]

In Justin's account the meeting for instruction mentioned above as possibly derived[5] from the

[1] A valuable commentary on Acts ii. 44, *εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά.*

[2] *συνουσία* is used in Classical Greek much as *συμπόσιον*, *e.g.* Plato, *Legg.* 652 A.

[3] The Oxford Translator renders "in all our offerings"; but there appears to be no parallel for this sense of the middle, *cf.* *Apol.* i. chap. 13; Josephus, B. J. v. chap. 10; LXX. *Sap.* xvi. 21; Judith xii. 9; and Xen., *Memorab.* iii. 11; *ποιεῖν* and *προσφέρειν* are Justin's words for "offer."

[4] *Cf.* the Eucharistic Thanksgiving in the Dialogue with Trypho, chaps. xli. and cxvii., where thanks are offered for the Passion as well as for Creation.

[5] Bishop Lightfoot in his Cambridge Lectures on Acts xiii. held that it was so derived.

Synagogue appears now to be joined with the Eucharist, conceivably in consequence of the enforced discontinuance of the Agapé.

The common life of the Christians is also dwelt on elsewhere (*Apol.* i. 13), "ὁμοδίαιτοι γινόμενοι," a passage which again suggests the Agapé.[1]

In the Epistle to Diognetus, which Bishop Lightfoot assigns to the middle of the second century as its probable date, in the beautiful description of the life of the early Christians, it is said (chap. v.), "They have their meals in common" (τράπεξαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται).

I cannot find any reference[2] or even allusion to the Agapé in Irenæus. The chief passages in which he refers to the Eucharist[3] (*adv. Hæreses* lib. iv. chaps. xxix. and xxxi.) are, for obvious reasons, doctrinal and not descriptive; but, had the connection between the Agapé and the Eucharist still survived, it is unlikely that no allusion to it would have been traceable.

[1] See Otto's note (p. 184, 3d Ed.); and *cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 1, ὁμοσίπυοι, etc.; see also below Appendix ii.

[2] See below Appendix ii. for the state of legislation at the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). It throws no light on Irenæus' silence. I do not agree with those who infer from Irenæus' silence the non-existence of the Agapé in Gaul. Why should the usage of Gaul be exceptional in this respect?

[3] See Harvey's *Irenæus*, ii. pp. 205-210, and notes.

But when we come to Tertullian (whose orthodox writings[1] are usually dated at from 197 to 203 A.D.), we find the Agapé again emerging into prominence[2] in the recorded life of the early Church. Portions of the detailed description in the *Apologeticum* have already been quoted. The remainder of the passage is now given.

"I shall now proceed to give my own account of the practices of the Christian community (*factionis*), that as I have disproved that they are evil, I may demonstrate that they are good. We (Christians) are a body[3] (*corpus sumus*) owing to our association[4] in religion (*conscientia religionis*), our unity in discipline, and our common bond of hope (*spei foedere*). We come together as an assembly and congregation in order that, approaching God as in a compact body (*manu facta*), we may beset Him (*ambiamus*) with prayers and supplications.[5] This violence is well-pleasing to God. We pray also for the Emperors, for their ministers,

[1] See *Dict. Christian Biogr.*, *s.v.*

[2] Due doubtless to the relaxation of vigilance against the *Sodalicia*. See Appendix II.

[3] For the—perhaps later—identity of "corpus" and "collegium," see Appendix II., where Tertullian's apparent pleading for the *rights* of a *collegium tenuiorum* is drawn out.

[4] Conscientia—our common sense of religion.

[5] "Orantes" is omitted in some MSS.

and the powers that be (*potestatibus*), for the condition of the age, for peace in the world (*rerum*), for the delay of the Last Day (*finis*). We meet together for the recitation[1] of our Divine Scriptures, in case anything in the condition of the times calls either for forewarning or reminder. At any rate we feed our faith and animate our hope by the sacred utterances; we stablish our confidence; and no less by the inculcation of their precepts do we strengthen good order (*disciplinam*). There are exhortations, too, reproofs, and holy discipline (*censura divina*). For judgment takes place with great solemnity as among those who are convinced of the presence of God (with them), and the gravest anticipation (*præjudicium*) of judgment to come takes place, when anyone has sinned to such a degree as to be banished from fellowship with us in prayer, and worship (*conventus*), and all sacred intercourse. . . .[2]

"But it is the exercise of this sort of love which doth with some chiefly brand us with a mark of evil. 'See (they say) how these Christians love

[1] Ad . . . commemorationem. *Cf.* Justin's ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα . . . ἀναγινώσκεται.

[2] See p. 16 for the intervening words.

one another'—for in truth they themselves hate one another; and 'see how they are ready to die for each other'—for they themselves are more ready to slay one another. And they are mad with us for calling each other brethren, for no other reason, I imagine, than that among themselves every name of kinship (*sanguinis*) has been assumed in mere pretence."[1]

"But we are your brethren as well by the right of our common mother nature, although you are hardly[2] men at all because you are such bad brothers. But with how much more reason are they both called and accounted brothers who have acknowledged one God as their Father, who have drunk of one spirit of holiness, who from the same womb of a common ignorance have won[3] their way out into the light of truth that is one."

"But it may be that we are the less accounted as true (*legitimi*) brothers because no tragedy cries aloud about our brotherhood, or because the very thing which commonly puts an end to brotherhood among you, viz., family property, is

[1] "Affectatione" gives better sense than the better supported reading "affectione." See Oehler's note.

[2] *i.e.*, hardly deserve the name of men.

[3] "Expaverunt" seems to mean "come in fear and trembling," but "expiraverunt" is the more probable reading.

just that (the community of) which *our* brotherhood depends on (*ex substantia familiari fratres sumus, quæ penes vos fere dirimit fraternitatem*). And so we, who are one in mind and soul, have no hesitation about sharing our possessions with each other.[1] . . . . . .

. . . . . .

"Let this meeting of Christians be judged on its merits. Let it be held unlawful indeed, if it is on a level with meetings that are unlawful; let it be condemned, if anyone has the same ground for complaint against it that there is against (other) factions. Did we ever come together to the ruin of any person? We are the same in our assemblies as we are when separate units, the same collectively as individually; we injure nobody, we bring sorrow on nobody. When, therefore, men who are upright and good meet together, when those who are devout and moral hold an assembly, it ought not to be called a faction, but a *curia*—a solemn conclave."

A comparison of this description with that of the Eucharist in Justin Martyr[2] makes it abundantly

[1] For the intervening part, see p. 29.

[2] How far Justin refers to Eastern practice in his *Apology*, written at Rome to the Roman Emperor, has long been disputed; but it seems improbable that he, as an Eastern, should have passed any *great* divergence of usage between East and West over without notice, had there been such.

clear that the Agapé and the Eucharist are now quite distinct, at least in North Africa, and probably, therefore, throughout the Western Church, and that it is the Agapé alone which is spoken of here in the words referring to food.

The following table exhibits the differences[1]:—

Eucharist (Justin).	*Agapé* (Tertullian).
Lections.[2]	Preliminary Prayer.
Sermon.	Conversation *quasi coram Domino.* The Meal.
Intercession (said by all).	Ablutions.
Kiss of Peace.	Lights brought in.
Oblation of Elements.	Psalm Singing (Scriptural or Original).
Long Thanksgiving (ἐπὶ πολύ).	
Consecration with words of Institution.	Final Prayer.
Intercession by President with Amen.	Distribution to the poor.
Communion.	
Subsequent Distribution to poor by President.	

The term *curia* — a solemn meeting — which Tertullian applies to the feast seems to indicate sufficiently its sacred character. It appears to

[1] In spite of this Mr F. C. Conybeare (*Monuments*, p. 75, etc.) seems to regard the Agapé and the Eucharist as identical in the Second Century. See below, chap. iii.

[2] Supplication—Intercession—Lections—Exhortation are all mentioned by Tertullian, but consistently with a *break* before the Agapé. See below, p. 73, and chap. iv.

have given good ground for his previous description of the Christian community, "*Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate et spei fœdere.*"

Bishop Kaye[1] remarks on this description that, though Tertullian does not expressly say it, "it may fairly be inferred that the materials of the feast were furnished out of the oblations made at the Eucharist, a portion of which appears also to have been allotted to the martyrs in prison." And similarly Dr Hey[2] says that "the Priests had a portion of them (the oblations), and the rest furnished the repast called the Agapé."

Tertullian both in the *Apologeticum* (chap. vii.)[3] and elsewhere speaks of the heathen misrepresentations of what took place at the Agapé. "It is the common talk that we are the wickedest of men, for that we have a mystery which involves the killing and eating of a child, with incest after our banquet; that we have dogs to upset the lights, etc." (*Dici-*

[1] *Tertullian*, p. 403.

[2] *Lectures in Divinity*, iv. 320. See below, chap. iv., for ref. to *Apost. Constit.* on this.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 58, and Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* chap. ix.; Tatian, *Orat. ad Græc.* chap. xlii.; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 227; *id. Apol.* i. p. 70; Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christo*, p. 38; Irenæus, *ap. Œcumen. Comment. in Petri Epist.* i. 2. See Oehler's Commentary on the passage in the text.

mur scleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum), where "*sacramento*" seems to refer to the Eucharist and "*convivium*" to the Agapé, in connection with which the "*lumina*" are mentioned (as in chap. xxxix.). Speaking of the same thing, Minucius says, "*illic*[1] *post multas epulas ubi convivium caluit et incestæ*," etc., which could hardly be an allusion to the Eucharist.

In the treatise *ad Nationes* (i. chap. vii.) Tertullian says: "First of all a business of deceit is practised (*fallaciæ negotium perpetratur*); stories of feasts and marriages[2] are pawned off on those who are ignorant (*ignaris . . . subjiciuntur*), for they had heard nothing previously (*retro*) about the Christian mysteries."

But in the Montanist treatise *de Jejunio* (chap. xvii.) he himself attacks the licentiousness of the Agapé: "At your house love (*agapé*) is warmed up with saucepans (*caccabis fervet*); faith is fomented in kitchens, hope rests on dishes. But

[1] *Octav.* chap. ix. Which would seem to show that Tertullian is summarising Minucius' account (See Dr Salmon, *Dict. Christian. Biogr. s.v.* Minucius).

[2] *Cf. Apologet.* chap. vii., Cotidie obsidemur, cotidie prodimur, in ipsis plurimum cœtibus (*cf.* chap. xxxix.) et congregationibus nostris opprimimur.

an Agapé is all the more important, because by means of this young men *cum sororibus dormiunt*," a passage which seems to show that the constantly recurring danger of abuse had manifested itself afresh.

Tertullian's words here are in somewhat sad contrast to those of his treatise *ad Martyras* (chap. ii.): "Meanwhile let us compare the life of the world and of the prison, to see if the spirit does not gain more in prison than the flesh loses. Nay even the flesh does not lose what is due to it, owing to the care of the Church and the love of the brethren (*agapen fratrum*);[1] and, in addition, the spirit gains things that are lasting aids to faith."

As to the time at which the Agapé was held there is a somewhat obscure hint in the words (*Apol.* chap. xxxix.) already quoted: "They satisfy their hunger, but so that they may bear in mind that even through the night they have to worship God."[2] But the subsequent words "after

[1] *Cf.* Lucian, *de Mort. Peregr.*, quoted p. 77.

[2] "It would seem probable that the . . . Agapé would follow closely on the conclusion of the business of the Church. It seems to have been held in daylight, and therefore not later than four or five o'clock in the afternoon." Dr J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion* (p. 45).

the bringing of water for the hands and lights (*lumina*)" seem to indicate that the "*cœna*" (chap. xxxix.) *began* somewhat early in the evening, though, because, for instance, of the services of praise referred to, it might be prolonged "*per noctem.*"

Tertullian's references or allusions to the Eucharist seem to show that in his day it was celebrated before dawn and received fasting.[1] "Will not your husband know," he says (*ad Uxorem*, book ii. 5), "what it is you secretly take before other food (*quid secreto ante omnem cibum*[2] *gustes*)." And, again, "who will without anxiety endure her absence all night long at the Paschal solemnities (*sollemnibus Paschae abnoctantem*)? Who will without some suspicion of his own let her go to attend that Lord's Banquet which they defame" (*convivium dominicum illud quod defamant*)?

The reference in the *de Corona* (chap. iii.) has been so much disputed that it will need special consideration.

Tertullian is dwelling on customs which are

[1] And so apart from the Agapé. There is nothing, of course, to indicate a rigid *law* of fasting.

[2] Where some think reservation for private reception is alluded to. *Cf. De Orat.* chap. xiv. and Oehler's note. Bishop Kingdon, *Fasting Communion*, p. 200 ff., translates "ante omnem cibum," "before every meal," but this does not commend itself.

due to tradition "*sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento*," and, after speaking of Baptismal customs, he adds: "*Eucharistiæ sacramentum et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.*"[1]

The exact force of "*etiam*" here seems most likely to be determined by comparison with its other uses in the same chapter, viz., above: "*Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta*," where it obviously qualifies what follows, and means "even"—"even where tradition is pleaded written authority is to be required."

And further on "*Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur*"—"we are distressed, *i.e.* that any of the cup or bread, even though our [2] own (*i.e.* not consecrated), should be cast to the ground." And so here the "*etiam*" serves to emphasize "*antelucanis.*" "The sacrament of the Eucharist, which was enjoined by the Lord both during the time of eating, and upon all, we receive[3] even at gatherings before

[1] *Cf. Apol.* chap. xxxix., "præsident probati quique seniores." See below, pp. 72, 73.

[2] So Oehler; *aliter* "our cup or even our bread"; *cf. Can. Hippol.* 209.

[3] *I.e.* apparently, not only not in tempore victus, but even—or actually—etc. "Etiam" *can*, of course, mean "also."

dawn, and not at the hands of others than the presidents."

The last expression "the presidents" is important as suggesting a connection with two other passages. One of them is in the *earlier* part of the chapter (*Apologet.* chap. xxxix.) in which the Agapé is described, and some of which I may, perhaps, quote again for clearness' sake. "We meet together as an assembly and congregation in order that approaching God in a compact body (*manu facto*) we may beset Him with prayers and supplications. This violence is well pleasing to God. We pray also for the Emperors, for their ministers and the powers that be; for the condition of the age, for peace in the world, for the delay of the Last Day. We meet together for the recitation of our Divine Scriptures. . . . In the same place also exhortations are made. . . . Our presidents are men of age and standing (character). . . . We have a kind of treasure-chest. . . . Everyone places there a small contribution on one day in the month. . . . These . . . are for feeding and burying the poor," etc.

The similarity of this description to the second passage I have spoken of, viz. Justin Martyr's[1]

[1] i. *Apol.* chaps. lxv.-lxvii.

well-known account of the Eucharist, will at once be apparent. Justin says they are assembled together "to offer up prayers in common both for ourselves . . . and all others everywhere. . . . Then is brought to the President (τῷ προεστῶτι) bread and a cup." . . . And again (chap. lxvii.) "On the day called Sunday there is an assembly in the same place . . . and the records of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read. . . . And the President verbally instructs and exhorts. . . . And there is a distribution and a partaking by everyone of the Eucharistic elements (ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων). . . . And such as are in prosperous circumstances give what they will; and what is collected is placed in the hands of the President, who assists the orphans and widows and such as are in want."

It is hard to believe that Tertullian's reference is not to the same service as Justin's, though he makes no mention of the consecration of the elements. *Afterwards* Tertullian adds, "You abuse *also* our humble feasts," and *then* goes on to describe the Agapé, thus following, whether intentionally or not, the order of the two meetings given by Pliny in his letter to Trajan.

There are numerous[1] other references or allusions to the Eucharist in Tertullian, which it would not be very much to the purpose to quote; but they have a certain bearing on this investigation in so far as they tend to confirm what has been already shown to be practically certain, viz., that in Tertullian's time, *i.e.* at the end of the second century, the Eucharist and the Agapé were separate, at least in parts of the Western Church.

It remains to collect a few scattered references or allusions in less known or somewhat doubtful writings of the second century.

In the *Apology of Aristides*, which appears[2] to belong to about the middle of that period, I cannot find any reference either to the Eucharist or the Agapé; but there are words which are to the same effect as those of Justin Martyr quoted above. "And he who has gives to him who has not without grudging. . . ." (chap. xv. Syriac Version.) . . . "Every morning, and at all hours, on account of the goodness of God towards them

[1] *E.g. De Præscript Hæret.* 36; *De Orat.* chaps. xiv.-xix.; *De Cultu Fœminarum*, ii. 11; *Adv. Marcion.*, iv. 1, iv. 40, and v. 8; *De Idolatr.* chap. vii. See further Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 424 *sqq.*

[2] See *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. i. No. 1, Introd.

they praise and laud Him. And over their food and their drink they render Him thanks" (εὐχαριστοῦντες, Greek Version).

In the *Apocryphal Vision of Paul* (chap. xl.) occurs this (obviously corrupt) sentence, in an account of the lapsed: "[1] But the entanglements of the world made them unhappy. They did not hold feasts of love, they did not show pity to widows and orphans, they did not entertain the stranger and alien, nor offer the oblation, nor show mercy to their neighbour."

In the *Acts*[2] *of Paul and Thekla*, part of which appears to be a second century document, Paul is described (chap. xxiii.) as fasting "in a sepulchre"[3] (Greek MS.) or "house" (Armenian MS.), and (chap. xxv.) "there was within the tomb"[4] ἀγάπη πολλή, (Lat. *gaudium magnum*, Armenian, "and Paul rejoiced exceedingly along with those who were with him"). "And the lad brought five

[1] "Sed impedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros non exibendas (exhibentes) agapes et viduas et orfanos non miserti, advenam et peregrinum non susceperunt, neque oblacionem offerentes et proximo non sunt miserti."—*Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 33.

[2] See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. xvi., Conybeare, *Monuments*, etc., p. 75 and p. 54.

[3] The connection with the Agapé in the Catacombs, or funeral feasts can hardly be pressed in the uncertain state of the text.

[4] Conybeare, *Monuments*, p. 75.

loaves[1] of bread, with vegetables and salt besides, and water." There may possibly be an allusion to the Agapé here, and there is a verbal resemblance to Philo's description of the meals of the *Therapeutæ.*[2]

In the *Passion of St. Perpetua* (chap. xvii.), which is variously dated at from 198 to 203 A.D., there is an account of how the martyrs[3] were publicly entertained the day before their passion at the supper prepared for those condemned to the beasts, which they turned into an Agapé.

I have left to the last the well-known statement of Lucian (*De Morte Peregrini*, chap. xii.), made a little after the middle of the second century, which is not definite enough to be of much value, but the combined mention of δεῖπνα and λόγοι in which seems[4] to point to the Christian Agapé. He is

[1] *Cf. Can. Hippol.* 197, "Cibus autem qui tempore πάσχα convenit est panis cum solo sale et aqua." [2] Introduction, p. 26.

[3] Pridie quoque cum illam cenam illam ultimam quam liberam vocant quantum in ipsis erat non cenam liberam sed agapen cenarent. *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. i. No. 2, p. 86.

[4] Professor Jebb, in his recent *Lectures on Lucian* (ii.), characterises any such supposition as "rash." But *cf.* Tertull., *Apol.* xxxix. : "Si qui . . . in custodiis . . . alumni confessionis sunt." Tertull. ad Martyr. 1 : "Inter carnis alimenta, benedicti martyres designati, quæ vobis et domina mater Ecclesia . . . et singuli fratres de operibus suis propriis in carcerem administrant." *Cf.* also Cyprian, *Epist.* 95, and Justin M., *Apol.* ii. chap. 67, τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι . . . κηδεμὼν γίνεται.

speaking of the *furore* which Proteus Peregrinus excited among the Christians even when in prison[1]:

"From early dawn one might see at the prison door old women, widows, and orphans. And the men of rank among them even bribed the warders, and passed the night with him within (the gaol). Then there were brought in to them choice meals, and their sacred records were recited."

[1] Ἕωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ γραΐδια χήρας τινας καὶ παιδία ὄρφανα· οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ διαφθείραντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας· εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο, καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο.

CHAPTER III

THE AGAPÉ IN THE THIRD CENTURY

IN entering on the next stage of our inquiry we pass from West to East, from the usages connected with the Agapé as known to Tertullian in Africa, and, presumably, in the Western Church generally, to those of the Churches of Alexandria as known to Clement.

This part of the investigation is even more abstruse and difficult than the rest, partly because of the frequent obscurity of Clement's language, and the mystical character of many of his allusions to the Eucharist and the Agapé, partly because there is some evidence that in this, as in some other respects, the usages of the early churches of Alexandria and the neighbourhood may have been exceptional.

Two of the most recent writers on the subject in English, Dr Bigg and Professor Allen,[1] agree in

[1] *Christian Institutions*, p. 522.

thinking that at this time "the Eucharist[1] was not distinguished in time, ritual, or motive from the primitive Supper of the Lord."

It may be well, therefore, to examine the statements of Clement in the light of these deservedly weighty opinions. Dr Bigg holds, but "with some hesitation," that at Alexandria the Eucharist and the Agapé were still both celebrated together in the evening; and in proof of his view he urges, *inter alia*, that (i) "the Agapé in both its forms (*i.e.* the public and private) is distinctly mentioned, the Eucharist as a separate office is not"; and (ii) that "the word Eucharist is employed of the Agapé."

As to the first statement, viz. that the Eucharist as a separate office is not mentioned, it seems to be true that the Eucharist as a *liturgical* office is not described or expressly spoken of; but on the other hand, most, if not all, of the *doctrinal* statements in Clement about the Eucharist seem to be carefully kept apart from references to the Agapé; and there are in addition several references to the Eucharist which do not seem to suggest its connection with the Agapé.

At the beginning of the *Miscellanies*, for instance,

[1] Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, pp. 102, 103.

(Bk. I. i. 5), where Clement is speaking of the respective duties of ministers and those ministered to, he says "both must therefore test themselves: the one if he is qualified to speak, and leave behind him written records; the other if he is in a right state to hear and read; as also some, in the dispensation of the Eucharist, according to custom, enjoin that each one of the people individually should take his part" (*τὴν εὐχαριστίαν διανείμαντες, ὡς ἔθος, αὐτὸν δὴ ἕκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν*). And he goes on to speak of the danger of eating the bread and drinking the cup of the Lord unworthily, and being "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," without any reference to the Agapé. Then he proceeds to say: "Blessed are the peace-makers, those who lead such as are at war in their life and errors here back to the peace which is in the Word, and they who nourish for the life which is according to God, by the distribution of the bread, those that hunger after righteousness."

And again (*Pædag.* ii. 2, 19) we find him saying: "And the mixture of the cup[1] and the Word is called Eucharist, renowned and glorious grace (*ἀμφοῖν αὖθις κρᾶσις ποτοῦ τε καὶ Λόγου εὐχαριστία*

[1] Lit. drink.

κέκληται, χάρις ἐπαινουμένη καὶ καλή), and they who by faith partake of it are sanctified both in body and soul."

In the *Miscellanies* (i. 19, 96), he speaks of those heresies "which employ bread and water in the oblation (κατὰ τὴν προσφορὰν), not according to the rule of the Church. For there are those who celebrate the Eucharist with mere water" (εἰσὶν γὰρ οἵ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν).

And, again (*Strom.* vi. 14, 113), "And giving thanks always for all things to God by righteous hearing and divine reading, by true investigation, by holy oblation, by blessed prayer (διὰ προσφορᾶς ἁγίας, δι' εὐχῆς μακαρίας), lauding, hymning, blessing, praising, such a soul is never at any time separated from God."

The expression "offering" (προσφορὰ) here applied in the two last passages to the Eucharist, and the context in which it occurs, certainly do not suggest any connection with the Agapé as spoken of elsewhere.[1]

And further we find that Clement speaks quite separately of irregularities and abuses with regard

[1] *Cf.* also *Strom.* iv. 26; *Pæd.* i. 6; *Protrept.* xii. 120; *Pæd.* ii. 2, 19; *Strom.* v. 10, 66; *Pæd.* i. 5, 15, 6, 38; *Strom.* i. 10, 46, 19, 96; v. 11, 70; vi. 14, 113. *Q. D. S.* 23, and the other passages referred to by Bp. Kaye and Dr Bigg.

to the Eucharist and the Agapé. One set of heretics, for instance, the Carpocratians, are condemned for their immoralities in connection with the Agapé.

[1] "Gathering together for their suppers, for I at least would not call their meeting a love-feast . . . putting out of the way the light, *quod eorum fornicatoriam hanc justitiam pudore afficiebat, dicunt coire quomodo velint . . . meditatos autem in ejusmodi 'agape' communionem interdiu jam, etc.*" Whereas in another place he speaks of those heresies (of the Encratites) who employ bread and water in the oblation (*Strom.* i. 19).[2]

With regard to the application of the word Eucharist to the Agapé as alleged by Dr Bigg, it is important to notice in the first place that there seems no reason to doubt the statement of Bishop Kaye[3] that Clement at times uses the word Eucharist and the corresponding verb in their original untechnical sense of "giving thanks." The two passages on which Dr Bigg

[1] *εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα ἀθροιζομένους (οὐ γὰρ ἀγάπην εἴποιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τὴν συνέλευσιν αὐτῶν) . . . φασὶ τὸ καταισχῦνον αὐτῶν τὴν πορνικὴν ταύτην δικαιοσύνην ἐκποδὼν ποιησαμένους φῶς τῇ τοῦ λύχνου περιτροπῇ μίγνυσθαι, μελετήσαντας δὲ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀγάπῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἤδη . . .* (*Stromat.* iii. 2, 10).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 81.

[3] *Cf.* Kaye on *Clem. Alex.* p. 447.

seems to rely chiefly are *Pædagogus*, ii. 1, 10, and *Pæd.* ii. 10, 96. In the first of these he translates "he that eateth eateth unto the Lord, and keepeth Eucharist unto God . . . so that a religious meal is an Eucharist."

In the passage in question Clement is obviously speaking of behaviour at a social meeting (*συνουσία*[1]); and he quotes St Paul's words (Rom. xiv. 3): "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not"; and, a little further on, he explains the reason of the command, when he says "he that eateth, eateth to the Lord and giveth God thanks," and "he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks" (where there appears to be no reason to depart from the untechnical sense of *εὐχαριστεῖ* in the passage in St Paul, which has clearly no reference to the Agapé or the Eucharist). And Clement goes on to say as an inference from this: "so that the true meal is a thanksgiving, and he who is indeed always giving thanks does not busy himself about pleasures,"[2] where the use of the article, and the order of the Greek seem to show the meaning to be *not*, as

[1] *Cf.* Justin's expression *σύνεσμεν*.

[2] *ὡς εἶναι τὴν δικαίαν τροφὴν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ ὅ γε ἀεὶ εὐχαριστῶν οὐκ ἀσχολεῖται περὶ ἡδονάς.*

Dr Bigg translates "so that a religious meal is an Eucharist," but "so that the normal or just meal, *i.e.* the meal which is taken *δικαίως* (in a true or moral spirit) is a (*i.e.* one long) thanksgiving, or involves thanksgiving."

And later on he proceeds: "The Apostle then, checking (*ἀνακρούων*) those that habitually transgress in their conduct at an entertainment says, etc. . . . [*τοὺς ἐπὶ ἑστιάσεως οὖν μελετῶντας ἀδικεῖν* (*cf. τὴν δικαίαν τροφήν*)]." This passage when compared with that quoted above about Carpocratian[1] immorality at the Agapé, shows that *δικαίαν* here refers not to the "religious" or non-religious character of the meal, but to the conduct and tone of the partakers.

In the second passage (*Pædagog.* chap. ii. 10, 96) Clement is admonishing those who need an Instructor against gross immorality or shameless[2] behaviour in the day-time, or in the morning, on coming from church or market: and then he adds that—in contrast, *i.e.* to the day-time, or morning, which is "the fitting time for prayer and reading

[1] *Cf. τὸ καταισχῦνον τὴν πορνικὴν δικαιοσύνην φῶς* (p. 82, *n.* 1).

[2] *ὡς μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὰ μυστικὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐκτελεῖσθαι ὄργια, μηδὲ, ἐξ ἐκκλησίας, φέρε, ἢ ἀγορᾶς ἥκοντα ἀλεκτρύονος ὀχεύειν δικὴν, ὀπήνικα εὐχῆς καὶ ἀναγνώσεως καὶ τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν εὐεργῶν ἔργων ὁ καιρός.*

and good works"—the evening is the time for recreation—"but in the evening it is fitting to take one's ease after the repast, and after the thanksgiving for one's enjoyments (*ἑσπέρας δε ἀναπαύσασθαι καθήκει μετὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσιν εὐχαριστίαν*)." In this sentence *ἑστίασις* may refer either to the ordinary supper or, possibly, to the Agapé, and *εὐχαριστία* to the ordinary thanksgiving after the enjoyments of the table which would be common to both; but the genius of the whole passage seems against *restricting* the sense either of *ἑστίασις* or of *εὐχαριστία* to the Agapé, or to the Eucharist.

Dr Bigg says that "*ἑστίασις* in Clement means the Agapé," but clearly it is not in any sense a technical word either in Clement or elsewhere, and cannot be so restricted. Elsewhere in the *Pædagogus*, for instance, the word is not so restricted (Bk. II. i. 8), "those that are absorbed in pots . . . the Holy Spirit by Isaiah denounces as wretched, depriving them tacitly of the name of love, since their feasting was not in accordance with the word" (*τῆς ἀγάπης τὸ ὄνομα ὑπεξελόμενον, ἐπεὶ μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἡ ἑστίασις ἦν*), and (Bk. ii., i., 4.): "gatherings for the sake of mirth we, too, in our enumeration would naturally call suppers, dinners,

receptions, in this coming together following the Word; but such feastings the Lord has not called Agapæ" (*τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐφροσύνης συναγωγὰς . . . τὰς τοιαύτας δε ἑστιάσεις ὁ κύριος ἀγάπας οὐ κέκληκεν*).

So far for these arguments of Dr Bigg's with regard to the union of the Agapé and the Eucharist in Clement's time.

Before leaving this part of the subject it may be well to quote a few of Clement's statements as to the Agapé itself, which seem to reinforce the previous considerations.

The Agapé as described or referred to by Clement, seems to be of two kinds, public and private.[1] The chief evidence is to be found at the beginning of the second book of the Instructor "on eating," *i.e.* in general, as well as at the Agapé. "It is a mark," he says, "of a silly mind to be amazed and stupefied at what is presented at public banquets after the rich fare which is the Word"[2] (*τεθηπέναι τὰ παρατιθέμενα ταῖς δημώδεσιν ἑστιάσεσι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λόγῳ τρυφήν*). Just before he had spoken of what was apparently a private Agapé, where "we are to partake of what is set

[1] *Cf.* Bigg, p. 103. *Cf. Pædag.* ii. 1, 11, *ut infra.*
[2] A possible allusion to Communion as preceding the Agapé.

before us as becomes a Christian, out of respect to him who has invited[1] us (*τὸν κεκληκότα*), by a harmless and moderate participation in the social meeting" (*κατὰ τὴν ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀπροσκορῆ τῆς συνουσίας κοινωνίαν*).

And the true character of an Agapé is described at length in the same chapter (§ 4). "We who seek the heavenly bread must rule the belly. . . . Some speaking with unbridled tongue dare to apply the name Agapé to pitiful suppers redolent of savour and sauces. Dishonouring the good and saving work of the Word, the consecrated (*τὴν ἡγιασμένην*) Agapé, with pots and pouring of sauce, . . . having expected that the promise of God might be bought with suppers. . . . But 'when thou makest an entertainment call the poor,' for whose sake chiefly a supper ought to be made. . . . But *ἀγάπη* is in truth celestial food, a feast of reason (*ἐπουράνιός ἐστι τροφὴ, ἑστίασις λογική*). 'It beareth all things.' 'Blessed is he who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.' But the hardest of all cases is for *ἀγάπη*, which fadeth not, to be cast from heaven above to the ground, into the midst of sauces. . . . If thou shalt love the Lord

[1] *Cf. infra, Canon. Reliqq.* lxxv. (Hauler, p. 113); *Can. Hippolyt.* 174, etc.

thy God and thy neighbour, this is the celestial festival in the heavens. But the earthly is called a supper; as has been shown from Scripture, the supper is made for ἀγάπη, but the supper is not ἀγάπη; only a proof of mutual and reciprocal[1] kindly feeling. Let not then your good be evil spoken of, 'for the kingdom of God is not meat and drink,' says the Apostle, in order that it may not be the mere ephemeral meal that is to be thought of, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." He who eats of this meal,[2] the best of all things, shall acquire the kingdom of God, fixing his regards even while here[3] on the holy assembly of love, the heavenly ἐκκλησία. Ἀγάπη, then, is something pure and worthy of God, and its work is distribution (ἡ μετάδοσις). . . . "And these joys have an inspiration of love, from the feeding[4] of the people at large, which habituates[5] to everlasting dainties. Ἀγάπη, then, is not a supper. But let the entertainment depend on love" (αἱ δὲ εὐφροσύναι αὗται ἔναυσμά τι ἀγάπης ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῆς πανδήμου τροφῆς συνεθιζόμενον εἰς

[1] Or generous (εὐμεταδότου).
[2] τοῦ ἀρίστου τὸ ἄριστον τῶν ὄντων.
[3] ἐνθένδε, lit. from here.
[4] *I.e.* the public Agapé apparently.
[5] Or, becomes habituated.

ἀΐδιον τρυφήν· ἀγάπη μὲν οὖν δεῖπνον οὐκ ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ ἑστίασις ἀγάπης ἠρτήσθω). . . . "Take no pleasure in abominable delicacies," says Wisdom. . . . We are enjoined to abstain (from things sacrificed to idols). . . . "For I would not that ye should have fellowship with demons," says the Apostle. . . . It is inconsistent with reason for those who have been made worthy to share divine and spiritual food to partake of "a table of demons" "*οὐκ εὐλόγου τραπέζης δαιμόνων μεταλαμβάνειν τοὺς θείας μετέχειν καὶ πνευματικῆς κατηξιωμένους τροφῆς*). . . . It is an admirable thing, therefore, to raise our eyes aloft to that which is true . . . to depend on that divine food above . . . for such is the Agapé, which the food that comes from Christ (*ἡ βρῶσις ἡ τοῦ χριστοῦ*) shows that we ought to look forward to" (*ἐκδέχεσθαι*).[1]

This passage is highly mystical, and consequently ambiguous in parts; but, with perhaps one or two exceptions,[2] the language is different from that in which Clement speaks of the Eucharist. One or two expressions seem to imply a previous reception of "divine food"—an epithet

[1] Or "to understand." The translation in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library* has "partake of," wrongly, as it seems.

[2] Such as *τὴν ἡγιασμένην ἀγάπην*.

elsewhere[1] in the fathers applied to the Eucharist. And the general impression left on the mind is not, I think, that the Eucharist and the Agapé were still united in Clement's time.[2]

And this impression is further strengthened by the considerations which are tersely summarised by Dr Bigg himself as standing against his inference. I give them in his own words.

(1) "That the separation was already made in the West, as we see from Justin and Tertullian, and is found immediately after Clement's time in Palestine *teste* Origen. (2) That the word Eucharist is employed by Clement for the elements (*Strom.* chap. i. 1, 5) and for the rite (*Pæd.* chap. ii. 2, 20; *Strom.* chap. iv. 25, 161). (3) That there was a morning[3] service in Alexandria, though we are not told that it included the Eucharist (*Pæd.* chap. ii. 10, 96)."

[1] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, the *Autun Inscription* (of somewhat uncertain date), line 5: Σωτῆρος ἁγίων μελιήδεα λ(ά)μβ(α)νε [βρῶσιν] (Pusey, *Real Presence*, p. 337). Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, p. 133, "Sanctum Domini edere et contrectare non potuit." *Cf.* also Dionysius (*circ.* A.D. 254), *Ep. ad Xystum ap. Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* vii. chap. ix.: τραπέζῃ παραστάντα καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα κ.τ.λ.

[2] For evidence of their separation in church ordinances see below, chap. iv.

[3] This is probably the daily office of the *Can. Hippol.* 217. Congregentur . . . quotidie in ecclesia . . . populus tempore gallicinii vacentque orationi, *cf. id.* 245, and *Egypt. Can. Reliqq.* lxxvii (Hauler, p. 117).

The strongest consideration which Dr Bigg urges in favour of the non-separation I have left to the last, viz., that he does "not know of any passage in an Oriental writer before Clement's time in which the Eucharist appears as a distinct and substantive office."

This statement seems a little strong in face of the fact that Justin Martyr, a native of Syrian Palestine,[1] and therefore an Oriental writer, though one writing at Rome to the Emperor, gives no hint of a divergent usage between East and West, and that Pliny's account of Oriental usage in Bithynia, though admittedly obscure, is so closely parallel in some points with Tertullian,[2] whose account resembles Justin Martyr's. But in the face of these facts, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we should be disposed to expect similarity of use in Alexandria with the rest of the Churches, but for Socrates'[3] statement, which is as follows: "The Egyptians in the neighbourhood of Alexandria and the inhabitants of Thebais hold their religious assemblies on the Sabbath (*i.e.* Saturday), but do not participate in the mysteries in the manner usual among Christians in general[4];

[1] *Cf. Apol.* i. 1.

[2] *Cf. supra*, chap. ii.

[3] *Eccl. Hist.* v. 22.

[4] Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐωχθῆναι καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι, περὶ ἑσπέραν προσφέροντες τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι.

for after having eaten and satisfied themselves with food of all kinds, in the evening they make their offerings, and they partake of the mysteries."

This statement is certainly remarkable, and though made as late as 439 A.D., *i.e.* two centuries later than the time of Clement, evidently refers to an ancient practice in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, though not, be it noticed, *in* Alexandria itself.[1] Undoubtedly there seem to have been divergent practices in the Egyptian churches as, *e.g.*, in the famous case of the appointment, though not necessarily the consecration,[2] of presbyters. And this passage itself indicates what may well have been one of the sources of these divergencies, viz. the survival of Jewish-Christian customs, such as observing the Sabbath, which might have been due to the very strong influence of Judaism in Alexandria and its neighbourhood. Professor Mommsen [3] mentions that in the second

[1] Indeed Socrates, *l.c.*, makes the Alexandrines proper differ in their customs from this—*τῶν γὰρ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτων κατὰ πάσαν ἑβδομάδος περίοδον ἐπιτελουσῶν τὰ μυστήρια, οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ οἱ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἔκ τινος ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρῃτήσαντο.*

[2] The authority of Pseudo-Augustine, Eutychius, and Ambrosiaster being hardly sufficient to establish it *beyond doubt*. *Cf. Dict. Christ. Biogr. s.v.* Ambrosiaster, and Lightfoot, *Phil.* p. 231.

[3] *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, bk. viii. chap. xi.

century two out of five of the quarters of that city were inhabited by Jews, and M. Ampère, an Egyptologist of note, describes Alexandria in the second century as[1] "very Greek, considerably Jewish, and hardly Egyptian at all." A somewhat lurid light is thrown on the condition of the Alexandrian Church by an unknown second-century writer,[2] who says that "he who in Egypt worships Sarapis is also a Christian, and those who call themselves Christian Bishops likewise adore Sarapis. Every grand Rabbi of the Jews, every Samaritan, every Christian clergyman is there at the same time a sorcerer, a prophet, a quack (*aliptes.*) Even when the patriarch comes to Egypt some demand that he pray to Sarapis, others that he pray to Christ."

When we pass from Clement of Alexandria to Origen the contrast is striking. Origen scarcely dwells at all on the subject of the Agapé, whereas

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 1846, p. 735.

[2] Mommsen (*u.s.* vol. ii. p. 226) from the *Vita Saturnini* (of Vopiscus), chap. i. 8. It is clear that an enemy hath written this; but it points to the disintegrating forces which were at work upon early Christianity in Alexandria. See Mommsen's note further. Bishop Lightfoot, *Phil.* p. 225 *n.*, attributes the letter to Hadrian —wrongly according to Mommsen. It is in the *Augustan History*, xxix. 8, Vopiscus expressly attributes it to Hadrian, but there are difficulties. See Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, Eng. Tran., p. 124.

he refers perhaps more frequently to the Eucharist, in proportion to the length of his writings, than Clement. The difference no doubt is largely due to the different character and scope of their works. It may, however, possibly indicate that the Agapé was already beginning to decline in prominence. But the chief reference to the Agapé in Origen is so important in its bearing on the whole history of the subject that it may be well to give it at length.

At the beginning of the treatise against Celsus (bk. i. chap. i.) Origen speaks of Celsus' first point of attack against the Christians as being that "they enter into secret associations with each other contrary to law (*συνθήκας κρύβδην πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένων παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα*), saying that of associations some are open, and such as are formed in accordance with laws; others, again, secret, and such as are formed contrary to legal enactments. And his wish is to calumniate what is called the Agapé of the Christians, (as)[1] taking its rise from the common danger, and having a power that transcends oaths (*ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κινδύνου ὑφισταμένην, καὶ δυναμένην ὑπερόρκια*). Since then he babbles about the common law, alleging that the associations of Christians

[1] *v.l.* ὡς.

are in violation of it, we have to reply that, if a man came to be among Scythians, whose laws were unholy (ἀθέσμους), and, if, having no opportunity of escape, he were compelled to live among them, such an one would with good reason, for the sake of the law of truth, which the Scythians would regard as transgression of law (παρανομίαν), enter into associations, contrary to their laws, with those like minded with himself. . . . It is not unreasonable then to form associations in opposition to existing laws, if it be done for the sake of what is truth."

We have here a clue to the whole early history of the Agapé, but one which unfortunately it is almost impossible to follow owing to the lack of contemporary evidence. It is possible that the discovery of fresh inscriptions may in time throw further light on the subject. But at present it is not possible to determine with certainty exactly how far, throughout its history, the Agapé was affected by the legal[1] enactments of the emperors. From the very earliest times associa-

[1] It is important to notice that Celsus probably lived in the middle of the *second* century, when the toleration of *collegia tenuiorum* was still restricted to Italy, and possibly the senatorial provinces. See Appendix II. for fuller treatment of this subject, where Tertullian's evidence to the contrary is considered.

tions[1] or guilds of a more or less religious character had, as we have seen, been common at Rome, part of their *raison d'être* having been a common table; and had been treated under the Republic with comparative leniency, provided that their meetings were not nocturnal or clandestine, or likely to prove prejudicial to the public safety. But under the Empire much stricter watch began to be kept over them. Julius, and later Augustus, suppressed all "*collegia*" which seemed likely to prove dangerous. Only those that were venerable from their antiquity, or obviously harmless, were allowed to survive; and new foundations were prohibited if they were without special permission,[2] which was but sparingly given. This supervision was most strictly exercised by the wisest and best of the Emperors; and, as Pliny (*Epist.* x. 43) tells us, their carefulness was not without warrant; for he represents Trajan as replying to his enquiry as to whether a "*collegium fabrorum*" might be instituted in Nicomedia, that the province was

[1] *Cf. supra*, Introd. p. 3 ff.; *cf. Sodales dicti quod una sederent et essent* (Festus, Ed. Müller, p. 296).

[2] *Cf. de instituendo collegio fabrorum consulebamur.* Pliny, *Panegyr.* chap. 54. See Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, ii. p. 249, etc., and *infra*, Appendix II. But *cf.* also Ramsay (on 1 Cor.) xxxv.

disturbed "*ejusmodi factionibus*," and that such associations, under whatever name or for whatever reason they might be founded, tended to become "*hetæriæ*." This supervision was rigorously directed to be exercised by the governors in the provinces. There was, however, a constant tendency to relax the formal discipline of the law;[1] and, probably in consequence of this, the Agapæ were able to subsist for a considerable time. But under Trajan, as we have seen,[2] strictness was reinforced; and under this régime the Agapæ were—at least partially—suppressed. Still, however, owing, no doubt, to the great tendency to form *collegia*, and to their corresponding to a felt want among the people, it was difficult to keep up a very strict censorship; and so,[3] as we have seen, in the latter part of the second and earlier part of the third centuries the Agapæ were regularly celebrated among the Christian communities in East and West alike. Gradually, as time went on, it became impossible to restrain the growth of these associations; and it became part of the Imperial policy to give legal recognition to what could not

[1] *Cf.* the number of Inscriptions proving the existence of *collegia*.
[2] Chap. ii.
[3] *Cf.* Tertullian and Clement Alex. *locc. citt.*

adequately be repressed, and even to impress it into the state service.

Alexander Severus,[1] for instance (A.D. 222-235), made himself specially prominent in this respect, by giving official recognition to the *collegia* of arts and crafts, and appointing tribunals before which accused members of these fraternities should be tried.[2]

This was no doubt an instance of the gradually growing spirit of toleration in the Empire, which first took prominent shape in the Edict of Caracalla[3] (A.D. 212), and culminated in the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313).

But in the meantime their comparative toleration had contributed towards the corruption of the Agapæ, as noticed by Tertullian and Clement, who wrote, the one during, the other soon after, the reign of Septimius Severus; and accordingly we find Origen, on the one hand, speaking as boldly of the history of the Agapæ as has been mentioned, but, on the other hand, making comparatively little reference to them in his other writings.

In the doubtful *Commentary on Job* (Lib. iii.

[1] Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 33.

[2] See Appendix II. for a summary of legislation on *sodalicia* and *collegia*.

[3] Which was tolerant in *effect*, though not at first in intention.

p. 238, *Lommatsch.*) we find an apparent reference to a subsequent development of the Agapæ into commemorations[1] of the departed. "We celebrate them indeed, assembling the pious (*religiosos*) along with the priests, the faithful along with the clergy, inviting thither the poor, feeding (*saturantes*) wards (*pupillos*) and widows, so that our solemnity (*festivitas*) may be a *requiem* commemoration for the souls, whose memory we celebrate (*in memoriam requiei animabus quarum memoriam celebramus*"[2]).

In his *Commentary on the Romans* (chap. xvi. 16) Origen refers to the holy "kisses which are given in the assemblies." "But in the first place, as we have said, let the believer's kiss be chaste. Then let him have in himself peace and felicity in love —ἀγάπῃ—unfeigned."

And in the latter part of the treatise against Celsus (Lib. viii. chap. 33), when contrasting the worship of demons by Celsus with Christian worship, he adds: "[3] but we, giving thanks to the Creator of all, eat the loaves which are

[1] *Cf.* the heathen *columbaria*, *feralia*, and *parentalia*.

[2] But this belongs probably to a later period. See below, chaps. iv. and v.

[3] *προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἅγιόν τι, καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μετὰ ἁγίας προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους.*

brought (to the table) with thanksgiving, and with prayer over what has been given, when they have become, as they do because of the prayer, a certain holy body, which sanctifies those who use it with a holy purpose." These words recall the form of thanksgiving in the *Didaché*, and Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65); but, *inter alia*, the allusion to St. Paul's contrast between the table of demons and the table of the Lord, point to their relating to the Eucharist, and not, as some have thought, to the Agapé.[1]

When we turn to the next Western source of information, St. Cyprian, we find the practice of the African Church more decisively defined, and the Agapé and the Eucharist emphatically differentiated.

The chief passage on the subject is in the famous letter (63) on the mixed Chalice, which Archbishop Benson seems to agree with Pearson in dating about 253 A.D.[2] Cyprian has been condemning the heretical practice of offering water

[1] *Cf. cont. Cels.* viii. 57: — *ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος.* For a *Catena* of Origen's references to the Eucharist, see Bigg, *Christian Platonists*, p. 219 *sqq.*; Heber, *Uninspired Teaching on the Eucharist*, p. 85 *sqq.*

[2] *Cyprian*, p. 291.

alone in the Eucharist, and dwelling on the importance of the mixed Cup, and he proceeds: "Does anyone perchance flatter himself with this notion that, although in the morning water alone is seen to be offered, yet when we come to supper we offer the mingled cup? But when we sup we cannot call the people together to our banquet so as to celebrate the truth of the sacrament in the presence of all the brotherhood" (*ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus*). "But it may be said (*At enim*) it was not in the morning, but after supper that the Lord offered the mingled cup. Ought we then to celebrate the Lord's (Feast—*Dominicum*[1]) after supper, that so by multiplying[2] the Lord's Feasts (*frequentandis Dominicis*) we may offer the mingled cup?"

"It behoved Christ to offer about the evening of the day, that the very hour of sacrifice might symbolise the setting, and the evening of the world; as it is written in Exodus, 'and all the people of the synagogue of the children of Israel shall kill it in the evening.' And again in the Psalms, 'let the lifting up of my hands be an

[1] *Cf. De Op. et El.* chap. xii.; *De Unit. Eccl.* xiv.

[2] Or celebrating with numbers—a common meaning of *frequento*. *Cf.* Lewis and Short, *s.v.*

evening sacrifice.' But we celebrate the Resurrection of the Lord in the morning."[1]

In another passage the character of the Agapé in Cyprian's time is clearly indicated (*ad Donatum*, chap. xvi.). "Since this is a holiday rest, and time of leisure, whatever remains of the day now that the sun is sloping towards evening, let us spend it in gladness (*ducamus hanc diem lœti*); nor let even the hour of repast be without heavenly grace. Let the temperate festivity resound with psalms[2] (*sonet psalmos convivium sobrium*), and, as your memory is tenacious and your voice musical, undertake this office as is your wont. You will provide a better entertainment for your dearest friends, if while we have something spiritual to listen to, the sweetness of religious music charm our ears" (*prolectet aures religiosa mulcedo*).

Again, in his treatise *on the Lapsed* (chap. vi.), Cyprian seems to speak as if the Agapæ were held

[1] "Again the morning hour is the only hour at which the Resurrection (which is the power of the Eucharist) can be celebrated; Christ Himself had offered in the evening solely in order to mark the close of the old order, and to merge the Passover ritual in ours." Benson, *Cyprian*, pp. 294, 295.

[2] *Cf.* Tertull., *Apol.* xxxix., "Ita fabulantur ut qui sciant Deum audire." Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 7, 49, ἅπας δὲ ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ πανήγυρις ἁγία αὐτίκα· θυσίαι μὲν αὐτῷ εὐχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι καὶ αἱ πρὸ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ἐντεύξεις τῶν γραφῶν κ. τ. λ.

in the Church, when, in denouncing unfaithful bishops, he speaks of those "who hunted the markets for gainful merchandise, and brought no aid[1] to starving brethren in the Church." And in the treatise[2] on *Works and Alms* (chap. xv.), he alludes to the primitive custom of contributing materials for the Agapé, and the Eucharist, which had apparently now developed into the offerings[3] of bread and wine for the Eucharist only. "You are rich and wealthy, and think you that you celebrate the feast of the Lord,[4] who are altogether negligent of the offering; who come into the Lord's house without a sacrifice, and take part out of that sacrifice which the poor has offered."[5]

[1] *Non subvenire*; *v.l.* esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus non subvenire. *Cf.* Justin, *Apol.* i. 65, *τὸ συλλεγόμενον τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται.* In Cyprian's time the "stipem menstrua die" of which Tertullian speaks in connection with the Agapé had apparently developed into a further organization for benefiting the clergy; *cf. Ep.* xxxix., "Presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis ut sportulis iisdem cum Presbyteris honorentur et divisiones mensurnas . . . partiantur." *Cf. Ep.* xxxiv., "a divisione mensurna contineant"; and *Ep.* i., "sportulantes fratres."

[2] For Cyprian's references to the Eucharist, *cf. Ep.* i. 2, xvi. 3, lix. 10, lviii. 10, lxxv. 10.

[3] *Cf.* on the *Eulogia*, chap. iv.

[4] *Dominicum*, *cf. supra*, p. 101, and *de Unit. Eccles.* chap. xiv., "Dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare."

[5] *Cf.* St August. (?), *Sermones de Temp.* 213, "Oblationes quæ in altario consecrantur offerte; erubescere debet homo idoneus si de aliena oblatione communicat." See Palmer's *Origines*, chap. iv. 8.

We find, then, that in the middle of the third century the evidence of the separation of the Agapé from the Eucharist is quite clear in the West, and the similarity of the language used of the Agapé by Eastern and Western writers makes it probable that the general usage was the same in East and West.

In both the Agapé is divided into public and private, in both the religious character of it is still marked, in both the thought of providing for the wants of the poor in connection with the Agapé is still kept in view.

The remainder of the Christian literature of the third century does not seem to furnish any further important evidence on the subject of the Agapé. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Anatolius of Laodicea, Lactantius, and Methodius do not appear to refer to it.[1]

[1] Anatolius (*Paschal Canon*, chap. x.) speaks of the unlawfulness of celebrating "the Lord's mystery of the Passover at any other time but on the Lord's Day, on which the resurrection of the Lord from death took place." Hippolytus (?) *Fragm. in Proverb*, ix. 1, speaks of "His Body and Blood, which are daily consecrated and offered (*ἐπιτελοῦνται θυόμενα*) on the mystical and divine table in memorial of the ever-to-be-remembered and first table of the mystical divine supper"—where the reference to the Eucharist alone is clear. Hippolytus (*Hæres.* ix. 12) mentions Pope Zephyrinus' appointment of a curator over the cemetery at Rome (*circ.* A.D. 200), which indicates the registration of Christian communities at that date as *collegia funeraticia*. *μεθ' οὗ* (Victor) *κοίμησιν Ζεφυρῖνος τοῦτον μεταγαγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθείου ἐς τὸ κοιμητήριον κατέστησεν.* See Hardy, *ut infra*, p. 194.

The Sibylline Oracles are so obscure in their origin and date as not to be of much practical value for the purpose of this investigation; but, as a good many of the Christian portions are placed by Alexandre in the third century, I subjoin here what he considers to be their allusions or references to the Agapé.

The first is in a kind of apostrophe to the "God-born race" (of Christians):

> "But glorious children will bring honour to thee,
> And with holy strains a table will set up": [1]

a passage which recalls the words of Cyprian as to music in connection with these sacred feasts.

The two next quotations—from the eighth book—Alexandre would associate with the preceding one as to date and authorship:

> "Mine image, the possessor of right reason, is
> Man.[2]

[1] Ἀλλὰ σε κυδάλιμοι παῖδες περιτιμήσουσι,
Καὶ μούσαις ἁγίαισιν ἐπιστήσουσι τράπεζαν.
Or. v. 265. This book Alexandre attributes to an Alexandrine Jew and dates at about the age of the Antonines.

[2] Ἐικών ἐστ' ἄνθρωπος ἐμὴ λόγον ὀρθὸν ἔχουσα,
τούτῳ θὲς καθαρὰν σὺ ἀναίμακτόν τε τράπεζαν,
πληρώσας ἀγαθῶν, καὶ δὸς πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον,
καὶ διψῶντι ποτὸν καὶ εἵματα σώματι γυμνῷ,
ἐκ μόχθων ἰδίων πορίσας ἀγναῖς παλάμῃσι.
Or. viii. 402. This, according to Alexandre (*Sib. Or.* ii. 547) does not refer to the Eucharist, in spite of v. 408,
καὶ ζῶσαν θυσίαν ταύτην τῷ ζῶντι πόριζε.

For him do Thou set a table bloodless and pure
Filling it with good things, and give bread to him that hungereth,
Drink for him that thirsteth, dress for the body unclothed,
By thine own toil providing with innocent contrivance."

". . . Of the family of Christ
Holy and heavenly born, of one blood we are called.
But with holy minds, rejoicing in gladsome soul,
With bounteous love-feasts, and generous expedients,
With soothing psalms and god-like strains,
Thee we are called to extol, Thee the Immortal and True,
Thee, God the Father of all."[1]

[1] . . . ἐξ ὁσίης ἡμεῖς Χριστοῖο γενέθλης,
οὐρανίου πεφυῶτες ἐπικλεομέσθα σύναιμοι,
* * * * * *
ἀλλ' ἁγναῖς πράπιδεσσι γεγήθοτες εὔφρονι θυμῷ
ἀφνειαῖς τ' ἀγάπῃσι καὶ ἐυδώροις παλάμῃσι,
μειλικίοις ψαλμοῖσι θεοπρεπέεσσι τε μολπαῖς,
ἄφθιτον ἐξυμνεῖν σε καὶ ἄψευστον κελόμεσθα,
παγγενετῆρα Θεόν.
(*Or.* viii. 497 ; *cf.* iv. 25, viii. 387.)

CHAPTER IV

THE AGAPÉ IN CHURCH ORDINANCES

IN entering on this stage of the enquiry one is confronted by one of the most difficult and perplexing problems of Church history — the problem of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and their kindred literature. It would be obviously impossible to deal with this problem in general in an enquiry into one particular point, such as the history of the Agapé. All that can be done is to briefly summarise the present state of the question, and to put before the reader such information about the Agapé as the more important documents connected with this literature afford to us. The question is discussed at length in Funk's[1] *Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen* (1891), and, less fully, by Mr Brightman (*Liturgies* i. Introduction); but for my immediate purpose it will be sufficient to quote the clear statement of Dr

[1] *Cf.* also Harnack, *Die Apostolischen Kirchenordnungen*, and Achelis, *Die Canones Hippolyti.*

Armitage Robinson in the *Ministry of Deaconesses* (1898. Appendix A). "The *Apostolic Constitutions* is the title of a Greek work in eight books containing regulations for the discipline of the Christian Church. No one now holds that these regulations were drawn up by the Apostles: it is only by a fiction that the Apostles are represented as uttering[1] them. The book in its present form cannot be earlier than the middle[2] of the fourth century, and may perhaps be as late as the beginning of the fifth century. But fictions of this kind have a great historical value as witnessing to the institutions which existed at the time when they were composed. Thus the *Apostolic Constitutions* as we have them represent fourth-century manners and customs, coloured to some extent by the ideals which the writer himself cherished in regard to them."

[1] Dr A. Harnack regards the tendency to recast older documents so as to put their directions into the mouths of individual Apostles as an outcome of the Arian controversy in the fourth century, and compares Ruffinus' conception of the Apostles' Creed as the work of *all* the Apostles as being due to the same tendency.

[2] Bishop Lightfoot, however, says (*Apost. Fathers*, pt. ii. 1, p. 253), "there is nothing in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, even in their present form, inconsistent with an earlier date than this, while their silence on questions which interested the Church in the middle and latter half of the fourth century is in itself a strong presumption that they were written before that date."

"But these *Constitutions* have another and still greater value. Modern research and criticism have shown that they embody far more ancient elements, which can be separated[1] off from the later matter with which they were overlaid by the last writer who gave us the work in its present form."

"Thus books i.-vi. embody an Apostolic *Didascalia* (or Instruction), which may belong to the middle of the third century. It is preserved to us in a Syriac translation,[2] and a Latin[3] translation has quite recently been discovered of the greater part of it in the under-writing of a palimpsest manuscript at Verona."

"Again, book vii. embodies the *Didaché* or teaching of the Apostles, as can plainly be seen, now that we have recovered that early work."

[1] This is no doubt true in many cases where, *e.g.*, the later document represents a further development of doctrine or practice, but with regard to the Agapé the relation of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Canonum Reliquiæ* (Hauler), and the *Egyptian Church Order* (*Analecta Antenicæna*, ii.) to each other is not yet clear, and the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*—indeed all five documents—seem to be based on earlier forms, which are still unknown to us, and the absence of which makes a critical account of the primitive Order of the Agapé still impossible.

[2] This is printed in Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca* (1854). *Cf.* Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicæna*, ii.

[3] This is now published by Dr Hauler (Leipsic, 1900).

"Book viii. presents a more difficult problem, but it stands in some relation, not very close, to another early manual called[1] the *Canons of Hippolytus*."[2]

Since this was written another kindred document, viz., the Syriac *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, has been published in a Latin translation by Mgr. Rahmani.[3]

I take first, for convenience, what appear to be the ordinary directions for the Agapé as they appear in the *Church Order*, or *Egyptian Canons*, the latter part of which,[4] relating to Church Discipline, is now published by Hauler in the Latin

[1] On the date and origin of this, *cf.* Achelis, *Die Canones Hippolyti*, p. 39 *sqq.* ; Brightman, *Liturgies*, I., xxiii. It is commonly regarded as of Roman origin, though not the work of Hippolytus, and variously dated from the end of the second century to the sixth (Funk). The latest view is that of Dom. Morin, *Revue Bénédictine* (July 1900), who holds that the *Canons of Hippolytus* are Egyptian in origin. My translation is from Achelis. I have not seen the Arabic.

[2] And both of these to the *Apostolic Canons* and *Egypt. Can. Reliqq.* See Achelis, p. 38 ff.

[3] Moguntiæ, 1899. Dr Achelis (*Theol. Lit. Zeit.*, No. 26, Dec. 1899) dates it as late as the fifth century. Others put it as early as the third. Rahmani puts it as early as 180 A.D. The middle of the fourth century is perhaps the most probable date. See *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. and April 1900, and Prof. Collins in the *Guardian*, Dec. 6th, 1899.

[4] *Canons*, lxv.-lxxii. See Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuch.* ii. 2. Hauler (p. vii.) dates it as early as the fourth century.

version, which appears along with that of the *Didascalia* in the Verona palimpsest.

I have put it, for convenience, in parallel columns with the part of the *Canons of Hippolytus* relating to the Agapé, and added at the end the sections (164-170) of the *Canons of Hippolytus* on the subject, which do not appear to be represented in the *Church Order* (Hauler).

Canonum Egyptiorum Reliquiæ. (Hauler, p. 113).	*Canons of Hippolytus.*
LXXV. [1] Ye who are present feast also thus.	
But let the exorcised bread be given to the catechumens and let them each offer a cup.	170. After the oblation let there be distributed among them the bread of exorcism (*panis* ἐξορκισμοῦ) before they sit down together.
Let not the catechumen [2] sit down at the Lord's Supper (*cena Dominica*).	171. Moreover by the bishop's direction let there be sent to the catechumens bread cleansed by prayer, so that they may be associated with the Church.
But through all the oblation let him who offers be mindful of him who has invited him; for on that account he has prayed (*deprecatus est*) that he would enter under his roof.	172. Let no catechumen sit with them at the Lord's Agapæ (*in agapis* κυριακαῖς).
But when eating and drink-	173. Let them eat and

[1] This comparison was made before I had seen that of Dr Achelis, *Die Can. Hipp.* p. 38 ff.

[2] Parallel to Tattam, *Coptic Ap. C.* p. 66. *Analect. Ante-N. Egypt. Ch. Ord.* 49; *Testamentum*, ii. 13, p. 2, and perhaps part of the original underlying document.

ing, do that with decorum (*honestate*) and not to excess,[1] and not so that anyone may mock you, or that he who has invited you may be saddened at your unruliness (*inquietudine*), but that[2] he may pray that he may become (*efficiatur*) worthy that the saints may enter into him. "For Ye," He says, "are the salt of the earth."

But if a common offering has been made to all, which is called in Greek "apoforetum," receive it from him. But if (so), taste enough that all may have a taste, and that there may be enough over for the inviter to send of the remains to whomsoever he will, and that he may rejoice in the confidence of the saints.

Moreover whom tasting let them receive with silence who have been invited, not disputing with words, but (listening to) whatever exhortations[3] the bishop may drink to sufficiency, but not to excess, but in the presence of God and with praise of God (*cum laude Dei*).

174. Let not anyone speak much or shout, that men may not work with you, and that they be not an offence to men, so that he who has invited you be exposed to contempt when it is manifest that you are departing from good order.

175. But rather let them invite him regularly and all his family, and let the moderation of each one of us be seen; and let great dignity be gained by the examples that are noticed amongst us.

176. Let each man pray that the saints may enter under his roof. For our Saviour says, "Ye are the salt of the earth."

177. But when the bishop sits and preaches the rest

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 82. Clem. Alex., *Pædag.* ii. 1, 4.

[2] *Can. Hipp.* 176; *Testamentum D.* ii. 13, p. 3; *Egypt. C.O.* (Lagarde), 50—perhaps from the original document.

[3] *Egypt. C.O.* (Lagarde), 50; Tattam, p. 70; *Testament. D.* ii. 13, p. 3—perhaps part of the original document.

give; and if he shall have asked any question, let an answer be given him; and when the bishop shall have spoken a word, let everyone be silent, applauding him with moderation (*modestia*) until such time as he ask another question.

shall profit thereby, and he himself shall not be without profit.

But even if the faithful be present at a supper without a bishop, let them, in presence of a presbyter or deacon, partake of it with like decorum.

178. But if the bishop be absent, and a presbyter be present, let all turn to him, because he is over the rest in God; and let them honour him as the bishop is honoured, and let them not obstinately oppose him.

Moreover let everyone be eager to receive a blessing from the hand of presbyter or deacon. Likewise let the catechumens receive that exorcised bread itself.

LXXVI.

179. But let him distribute the bread of exorcism himself before they sit down together, that God may preserve their Agapé from the fear of the enemy, and that they may rise from it in safety and peace.

180. At an Agapé let a deacon, in the absence of a presbyter, act as representative (*vicem gerat*) of the presbyter as far as regards prayer and the breaking of the bread, which he is to distribute to those invited.

If laymen shall have met

181. But it is not fitting for

together, let them behave with gravity. For as a layman thou canst not give a blessing.

Let each one eat in the name of the Lord for this is pleasing to God, so that there (may be) imitators of us among the heathen, and that we may all alike be sober.

If anyone wishes at any time to have the widows[1] to a feast (*lit.* that they may feast), let him send them away if they are already of mature age (*maturas ætate*) before evening.

But if he is unable (to have a feast for them) owing to the lot which he has received (*propter clerum quem sortitus est*), let him give them food (*escas*) and wine, and send them away, and let them partake of the things (*re*) at their own houses in whatever way they please.

a layman to make the sign (of the cross) over (*signet*) the bread, but only to break it, and to do nothing besides.

182. If there be no clergyman at all present, let each eat his portion with thanksgiving, so that the heathen may look on your conduct (*mores*) with envy.

183. If anyone wishes to provide a supper for the widows, let him take care that they have their supper, and that they be dismissed before sunset.

184. But if there be many of them, precaution must be taken against confusion arising, or any obstacle that may prevent their being dismissed before evening.

185. And to each one of them let enough food and drink be given, but let them depart before nightfall.

"164. If an Agapé is taking place or a supper is being provided by someone for the poor, on the

[1] *Cf. Ap. Constit.* ii. 28; *Didascalia*, xxvi.; *Egypt. C.O.* (Lagarde), 52—perhaps from the original underlying document. See also Platt, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 64.

Lord's Day, at the time of the lamp-lighting, let the deacon, in the presence of the bishop, rise up for the purpose of lighting.

"165. But let the bishop pray over the guests (eos) and him who has invited them.

"166. And the thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) which is at the beginning of the *missa* is incumbent on the poor (*necessaria pauperibus*).

"167. Moreover, let him dismiss (*missos faciat*) them, so that they (*i.e.* men and women) may return (home) separately before darkness arises.

"168. Let them repeat psalms before they go away.

"169. If a memorial (ἀνάμνησις) is taking place (memorials do take place) on behalf of the departed, let them partake of the mysteries before they sit down together, but not on the first day (of the week)."

A comparison of the two documents as to the Agapé seems to indicate that the directions in the *Canons of Hippolytus* are later, partly because of the [1] greater fulness of detail in the earlier sections

[1] But the *Can. Reliqq. may* be an abridgement of the longer form given by Lagarde (*cf. infra*, p. 118) or of the *Can. Hipp.* in this part. *Cf.* Lightfoot, *Ignat.* i. p. 251. "It is a question of dispute whether the Greek is an enlargement from the short form represented by the Syriac" or *vice versa*, a statement which may be applied much more widely.

(164-170), partly because of the use of expressions (such as, *e.g.*, in 152, 159, 166), which, in themselves, suggest interpolation, or a later date for the whole document.

But in the parallel portions the varieties do not seem decisive on this latter point. They *may* only indicate local differences.

Coming to details, we see a general agreement in outline. According to the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the feast took place on the Lord's Day [1] at the time of the lamp-lighting, [2] *i.e.*, apparently, it *began* somewhat later than in Tertullian's time; and after the bishop had prayed over host and guests alike, (the Agapé being,

[1] And was therefore quite distinct from the Eucharist which the Egyptian Canons (lxxvii.) represent as taking place early: "Fideles vero mox, cum expergefacti fuerint et surrexerint, antequam operæ suæ contingant, orent Deum et sic jam ad opus suum properent. Si qua autem per verbum catechizatio fit, præponat hoc, ut pergat et audiat verbum Dei ad confortationem animæ suæ: festinet autem ad ecclesiam ubi floret spiritus. Omnis autem fidelis festinet, antequam aliquid aliut gustet, eucharistiam percipere." Both documents direct it to be received fasting (Hauler, p. 117, *Can. Hipp.* 205). Dr. Achelis (*Can. Hipp.* p. 205) says, "on the *evening* of the Lord's Day, but also on other evenings, the whole community came to Church. . . . The bishop then said the Eucharistic prayer. . . . they received with the words: 'This is the Body of Christ,' etc." But how is this to be reconciled with the above? *Can. Hipp.* 217 and 245 do not overthrow this Canon.

[2] But see below, p. 131, for Achelis' view.

therefore, private), the ceremony commenced with the partaking of the bread of exorcism by the catechumens, or (according to the *Canons of Hippolytus*) by all. The custom seems to have varied between *sending* the bread to the catechumens and having them present to eat it before the feast proper.

Then follow rules for conduct at the meal,[1] which emphasize moderation and decorum (the *Canons of Hippolytus* being here somewhat fuller), and the account of the "*apoforetum*," which does not appear in the *Canons of Hippolytus*. The respect due to the clergy, whether bishop, priest, or deacon be present, is emphasized in both documents, the blessing by the president being dwelt on in the *Church Order*, the distribution by him in the *Canons of Hippolytus*. In both laymen are reminded of their not being authorised to "bless," or "sign" (with the cross—*signet*); in both the importance of setting an example to the heathen is enforced. Each account concludes with directions for the special entertainment of widows, which was held earlier, *i.e.* before dark.

There is little in either description which is inconsistent with the statements either of Clement of

[1] See below, p. 126.

Alexandria or even of Tertullian, but the more elaborate directions as to the clergy seem to indicate that these portions at least are not earlier than the latter part[1] of the third century[2]; and because of their connection with the *Apostolic Constitutions*, I have thought it best to postpone their consideration to this chapter, where they can be taken in conjunction with the more obviously fourth century documents, such as "the Testament of our Lord," and with the Coptic and Arabic forms of the Egyptian Church Ordinances, the portions of both of which that bear on the Agapé I now subjoin.

Egyptian Church Ordinances[3]

(Bunsen's *Analecta*, ii. 469.)

"47. Let widows and virgins often pray and fast in the church. Likewise let the presbyters and laymen fast whenever they will. But it is impossible for the Bishop[4] to fast except on the day on

[1] See Hauler, p. vii., note.

[2] Though the whole account has a more formal cast, and is therefore probably a good deal later than Tertullian's; but the very fact that the Agapé was perhaps rather less likely to be modified than some other Institutions makes it harder to trace critically.

[3] Translated from the Greek restoration of Lagarde, which does not differ much from Tattam, *Apostolic Constitutions in Coptic*, p. 66 ff., and the English Version in *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, iii. 393 ff. *q.v.* *Cf. Anal. Antenic.*, Introd., vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

[4] *Can. Hippol.* 158.

which all the people fast. For there are times when men wish to take something in the church (*λαμβάνειν τίς τι βούλεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*), and it is impossible for him to refuse. But when he has broken the bread, he will by all means taste it, and eat with the rest of the faithful.

"Let them receive from the hand of the bishop a fragment of bread before each breaks his own bread. For this is *eulogia*,[1] and not Eucharist like (*ὡς*) the Body of the Lord."

"48. It is fitting that each when he has received the cup should before drinking give thanks[2] (*εὐχαριστεῖν*) for it, that he may be purified when he eats and drinks. Likewise let the catechumens[3] give to one another the bread of exorcism and the cup."

"49. But let not (one) allow the catechumens[4] to go into the Lord's Supper with one of the faithful (*μετὰ πιστοῦ*). And let him that eateth make a memorial[5] (*μνήμην ποιείτω*) of him that invited him, as often as (*ὁσάκις*) he eateth. For on this account he invited them to come under his roof."

[1] *Apost. Constit.* viii. 31.

[2] *Cf. Canons of Hippolytus*, 166.

[3] *Can. Reliqq.* (Hauler) lxxv.; *Can. Hippol.* 171, come in here.

[4] *Can. Reliqq.* (Hauler) lxxv.; *Can. Hippol.* 172.

[5] *Can. Reliqq.* (Hauler) lxxv.; *Can. Hippol.* 172. Coptic "remember."

"50. And eat ye and drink ye in quiet[1] (ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ). Drink ye not to excess, that men may not ridicule you, and that he that invited you may not be grieved at your transgression, but (act) so that he[2] may invite the saints to enter his house; for He said, 'Ye are the salt of the earth.'

"If they distribute portions among you, thou shalt take (ἀρεῖς) thine own portion only. But if ye were invited to eat, let one eat what is fitting (καθήκοντα) only, in order that he who invited you may use what is over for the saints, when they are in need, as he willeth, and may be glad that you have entered his house.

"But let those that are invited eat quietly, but not with strife.

"And if the bishops bid anyone look for anything (ζητεῖν), let him respond.[3]

"And when the bishop is speaking, let all attend to him in silence until he ask them a question again.

"But if a bishop[4] be not present, and the faithful should be supping alone, let the blessing be said

[1] *Can. Hippol.* 173; *Can. Reliqq.* (Hauler) lxxv.

[2] *Cf. Test. Dom.* ii. 13, par. 3; *Can. Hippol.* 176; *Can. Reliqq.* lxxv., etc.—part of the still earlier document.

[3] *Can. Reliqq.* lxxv.; *Can. Hippol.* 177.

[4] *Can. Reliqq.* lxxv.; *Can. Hippol.* 178.

by the presbyter; and if there should be no presbyter present, by the deacon.

"Likewise let the catechumens receive the bread of exorcism.[1] If the laity should happen to meet without a clergyman (κληρικοῦ), let them eat with knowledge (μετ' ἐπιστήμης), but the layman has no power to pronounce the blessing."

"51. But let each one eat with thanksgiving[2] in the name of God. For this is what befits the pious, in order that we may all be sober, and the heathen may envy us (παραξηλῶσιν)."

"52. If anyone wishes to invite the widows,[3] let him give food to (τρεφέτω) every *Presbytis*, and let him send her away before evening come on. But if it be impossible for them to come because of the lot[4] which they have had allotted to them (κλῆρον —ἐκληρώσαντο), let them give them wine and food, and let them eat it as they will in their own private houses."

"53. Let[5] each one be zealous to offer to the

[1] *Can. Reliqq.* lxxvi.; *Can. Hippol.* 181.

[2] *Can. Hippol.* 166.

[3] *Can. Reliqq.* lxxvi.; *Can. Hippol.* 183. *Cf. Ap. Constit.* ii. 28.

[4] "If the clergyman be prevented from attending" (so Bunsen and Tattam); but the text may be corrupt. κληρικός, not κλῆρος, is used in these documents.

[5] Practically identical with *Testamentum*, B. II. xvi. *Cf. Can. Reliqq.* lxxvi. p. 115.

bishop all the firstlings of the fruits (ἀπαρχὰς)—the first produce (γεννήματα). And let the bishop accept them with thanksgiving and pronounce a blessing on them, mentioning the name of the offerer, and saying: 'We give Thee thanks, O Lord God, and we offer to Thee the firstlings of the fruits Thou hast given us to partake of—of those that have been perfected by Thy word (τετελεσμένων λόγῳ).'

"And Thou didst command the earth to bear every fruit for blessing and joy and sustenance to the race of men and to every creature. We bless (εὐλογοῦμεν) Thee, O God, for these things and all the rest of Thy kindnesses to us, Thou who didst adorn all creation with varied fruits through Thy Holy Servant[1] (παιδὸς) Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom be glory to Thee and Him and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen."

"54. These are the fruits that are to be blessed . . ."

TESTAMENTUM, BK. II. XIII.

"[[2] At a supper or entertainment let those partake

[1] Or "Son."

[2] I have bracketed the parts which have no exact parallels in the kindred documents.

(in the breaking) who are nearest[1] to the pastor as at (or for, *ad*) the benediction].

"But[2] let not a catechumen receive. [Let him who is a friend (*familiaris*) or relation of a teacher of heathenism (*magistri rerum profanarum*[3]) not allow him to join in praise with him, nor eat along with him because of his relationship, or for propriety's sake (*ob congruentiam*), lest it chance that he deliver what are unspeakable (mysteries) to a wolf,[4] and bring judgment upon himself thereby.]

"Let those who are invited[5] along with a bishop to the house of a faithful man, eat with moderation, and control, and let them not (drink) to excess or to intemperance, nor so as to provoke to brawling one who stands near them, nor so that you should bring trouble upon the house of him who has invited you. Rather if they enter the house of him who has invited them (let them act) so that he who has invited them may pray[6] that

[1] This does not appear to represent the Syriac.

[2] *Egypt. Ch. Ord.* 49 (Lagarde); Tattam, p. 63; *Rel. Can.* (Hauler) p. 113.

[3] Lit. "of other things" (Syriac).

[4] *Cf.* Acts xx. 29, "I know that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you."

[5] *Can. Hippol.* 173, 174; *Can. Reliqq.* 50; Tattam, p. 70; *Egypt. Ch. Ord.* 50 (Lagarde).

[6] *C.H.* 176 (*oret.*); *Can. Reliqq.* Hauler (lxxv.); Tattam, p. 68; *Egypt. Ch. Ord.* (A. A.), 50.

the saints may enter his house. For ye have heard that 'ye[1] are the salt of the earth.'

"Let those who eat together,[2] eat enough indeed, but so that fragments may remain over both for you, and for those to whom the host would like to send them, regarding the food which has remained over and above, as something left by the saints, and rejoicing in the fact (*de illo gaudens*). [Let those who have been invited when they are sitting together at a feast not stretch out their hands before their seniors, but begin to eat second, when those who are first have finished.]

"Let[3] those who are eating not vie with each other in talk, but eat in silence. If, however, anyone desires, or a bishop or presbyter ask a question, let him give an answer.

"But when the bishop utters a word let anyone quietly approve, choosing silence for himself until he be asked a question."

Testamentum, Bk. I. xxxii.

(*From Collaudatio Quotidiana, Rahmani*, p. 77).

"Protector of widows, emancipator of orphans,

[1] Matt. v. 13.

[2] Tattam, p. 68; *Egypt. Ch. Ord.* 50; *Can. Reliqq.* (Hauler) lxxv. (p. 114).

[3] *Can. Reliqq.* (Hauler) lxxv.; *Can. Hipp.* 177; Tattam, p. 70.

Who grantest right guidance to Thy Church in which Thou hast ordained (funeral) love[1] feasts, ministrations, banquets of the faithful, communication of the Spirit, gifts of grace, and virtues, we praise Thee. . . ."

Bk. II. xi.

"On the fifth day of the last week of the[2] Passover let there be offered[3] wine and a cup, and he who has suffered[4] for that which he offered, he it is who draweth nigh."

"Let a lamp (*lucerna*) be offered in the Temple by the deacon who says, 'the grace of our Lord be with you all,' and let all the people respond 'and with thy spirit.'"

[1] The word in the Syriac is not "agapé" but n'yāḥāthā, lit. restings ("requies," "refectiones," Schaaf, *Syr. Lex. s.v.*). It is the Syraic rendering for ἀγάπαις in 2 Peter ii. 13 (Jude 12), and has no connotation such as "funebres" (Rahmani) in earlier Syriac. But the Jewish custom of "the breaking of bread" at funeral feasts, and the "*collegia funeraticia*" among Christians in the second century (*cf.* Appendix II. and Hippol., *Hær.* ix. 12, quoted at the end of chap. iii.) make it possible that funeral agapæ were much earlier than there is clear evidence to show. *Cf.* Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 485 ff.

[2] *I.e.* Lent, apparently.

[3] Rahmani (p. 200) points out that it is not the Eucharist but the oblation of bread and wine "per modum agapes" that is referred to. *Cf. Can. Hipp.* 164 ff.

[4] There is some confusion in the Syriac text here evidently.

"Let the boys repeat spiritual psalms,[1] and songs at the lighting of the lamp."

We are now in a position to compare all four documents—the *Remains of the Egyptian Canons* (Hauler), the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Egyptian Church Order* (Lagarde), and the *Testament of our Lord.* For convenience I append a table which will show the main points that they have in common, and by the side of it the outline of the order of the Agapé as given by Tertullian.

Fourth and (?) Third Century Agapé, Egypt and (?) Syria, etc.	*Second Century Agapé, N. Africa.*
1. [2] Catechumens excluded (*C.R.*, *C.H.*, *L.*, *T.D.N.*), but given bread of exorcism (*C.R.*, *C.H.*, *L.*).	1. [3] Preliminary Prayer.
2. Rules for Feast (all):—	2. Rules for Feast:—
(*a*) consideration for host (all);	
(*b*) *apoforetum* (*C.R.*).	
(*c*) quiet and moderation (all).	(*c*) quiet, moderation, etc.
3. Bishop's Exhortations, etc. (*C.R.*, *C.H.*, *L.*), and questions (*C.R.*, *L.*, *T.D.N.*).	3. [Lections and Exhortation (by President).]

[1] *Cf.* psalmos recitent, *Can. Hipp.* 168. ? Tr. "by the light of the lamp."

[2] *C.R.* = *Canonum Reliquiæ*, *C.H.* = *Canons of Hippolytus*, *L.* = Lagarde, *T.D.N.* = *Testamentum Domini Nostri.*

[3] *Cf. C.H.* (165), "Episcopus oret super eos."

4. [1] Benediction (Bp., Pr. or Deacon) (*C.R.*, *C.H.*,[2] *L.*)	4.
5. Laymen distribute, but do not sign bread with Cross (*C.R.*, *C.H.*, *L.*).	5.
6. Widows' Suppers (*C.R.*, *C.H.*, *L.*).	6. Widows', etc., support mentioned.

The above comparison shows at once how informal[3] Tertullian's description is as compared with the later documents, but, when it is put side by side with the directions in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the resemblance between it and some of the statements *not* common to the Canons and the expressly Egyptian documents will at once be apparent.

C. Hippolytus.	*Tertullian.*
1. Lights (? on Sunday only).	1. Lights (later).
Feast.	*Feast.*
2. Private (*ab aliquo*).	2. Collective.
3. President Bishop (emphasized).	3. Presidents (*seniores probati*).
4. Object (*pauperibus paratur*).	4. Benefit needy.

[1] Thanksgiving not mentioned in *C.R.* Twice in *L.* 48 (cup), 51, and also in 53 (ἀπαρχαί). *T.D.N.* praise *ad init.* *C.H.* 166, 168, 173. Tertull., hymns, etc., of praise.

[2] *C.H.* distribution by Bishop.

[3] The difference, of course, is partly due to the difference of scope between an apology addressed to heathen and designedly avoiding details which would not be understood, and a code of rules for Christians.

5. Pure charity ([1] *nihil computetur*).	5. No buying or selling.
6. Exhortation and prayer by Bishop.	6. Prayers . . . and Exhortations are made.
7. Moderation and reverence.	7. "*Saturantur*, etc."; "*fabulantur . . . Dominum audire.*"
8. Psalms before leaving.	8. Hymn to God.
9. Thanksgiving.	9. Closing prayer (? including thanksgiving).

This comparison makes it clear that, in spite of the elaboration of certain details, the main principles of the true love-feast are still what they were in Tertullian's time.

And it also shows that the additional details given in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, as compared with the kindred documents, are not inconsistent with a comparatively early date for these Canons, especially as these points are not inconsistent with the accounts of the other documents, though not emphasized in them. And so one may fairly infer that *where the "Canons of Hippolytus" are not obviously interpolated*, as they are here and there, they present at least as early a picture of the Agapé as the parallel texts.

The mention of the "host" or "inviter" is one great mark of distinction between all these texts and Tertullian. Just as appeared in Clement of

[1] *I.e.* in previous *oblatio*, *C.H.* 162.

Alexandria, the old principle of mutual giving had been departed from, though not of course *always*,[1] as the love-feast of the *community* still survived; and in consequence of the change we find consideration for the host emphatically enjoined.

Dr. Achelis thinks that the presence of the bishop, and the lighting of the lamps by the deacon are special features of the *Sunday*[2] Agapé, and that the rules in § 172 ff. are general directions for *all* kinds of meals (*Mahlzeiten*, p. 199).

The latter conception certainly receives additional support from the heading in the Coptic[3] version of the Canons (Tattam, p. 66), "Of the time of eating," which comes in just before the section corresponding to *Can. Hipp.* 172 ff.

The *Testament of our Lord* is so clearly related to the documents previously quoted, as may be seen by the references in the notes, that it does not call for special comment in this connection.

But the fuller form of the *Egyptian Church Order* (Lagarde) throws light on some customs which do not appear in the apparently earlier

[1] Achelis, *Canon. Hippol.* p. 198.
[2] *C.H.* p. 214.
[3] This point is not noticed by Dr. Achelis himself.

documents.[1] The direction of Section 47 is "Let them receive from the hand of a bishop a fragment of bread before each breaks his own bread. For this is *Eulogia* and not Eucharist." This suggests comparison with a passage in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (chap. xxxi.):

(xxxi.) "I, the same (make a constitution) in regard to remainders (περισσευμάτων). Those[2] εὐλογίαι which remain over and above at the mysteries let the deacons distribute among the clergy according to the decision of the bishop or the presbyters: to a bishop four parts; to a presbyter three parts; to a deacon two parts. . . . For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God that everyone be honoured according to his dignity, for the church is the school not of confusion, but of good order."

This statement appears to refer to a time when the offerings which were originally made for the purposes of the Agapé as well as the Eucharist, were formally made during the service, the εὐλογία being the bread offered at the offer-

[1] Thanksgiving seems specially emphasized, but there is not much to suggest a later date than the other documents, *judging from the Agapé alone.* See *supra*, pp. 119, 120.

[2] *The Coptic Version* (Tattam, p. 138) has "the Eulogies which remain at the mysteries shall not be set on."

tory, and a gift of the people.[1] There is no evidence here as to the exact relation that still survived between these offerings and the Agapé itself;[2] but the subsequent development of the εὐλογία into bread formally blessed and[3] distributed at the end of the liturgy seems to point to a time when the Agapé had died out, and the εὐλογία in the East and *panis benedictus* in the West remained as a kind of development or survival of it, and a symbol of the Christian love and unity, which the Agapé itself had emphasized in earlier days.[4]

In the *Didascalia* (Hauler, p. 38), chap. xxvi., *just before* the statement about "Agapæ" for the "*aniculæ*," we find the direction: "offer then your oblations (*prosforas*) to the priest, either by yourselves or by the deacons (*per diacones*), (to him) who (*quique*) will both receive them, and

[1] See Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. p. 527 and *reff.* for the later developments of this rite; also *Du Cange*, *s.v.* Eulogia.

[2] *Cf.* St. August., *De Peccat. Remiss.* ii. 26: "Hic panis quamvis non sit Corpus Christi sanctus est tamen, et sanctior cibis quibus alimur."

[3] See Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, *s.v.* "Love-feast," where "certain points of ritual connected with the Eucharist, such as the offertory, the washing of hands, the kiss of peace, and in the Oriental Church, the distribution among the poor of bread which had been blessed but not consecrated," are traced to the Agapé.

[4] See *supra*, chap. iii., and Brightman, *s.v.* Eulogia.

distribute to each one as is fitting." In the *Canons of Hippolytus* the oblation is also spoken of just before the Agapé (159), and it is said (160) "if the oblation is being distributed, let alms be also distributed to the poor," etc.

There is unfortunately a *lacuna* in the parallel passage in the *Canonum Reliquiæ* (Hauler, p. 113) just at this point, but in the *Egyptian Ch. Order* (47, Lagarde, pp. 469, 470, Tattam, p. 66) the directions for the bishop's distribution, which precede the general rules for an Agapé, are in connection with a meal "in the Church," and the directions for breaking and distributing the bread conclude with the words, "for this is *Eulogia* and not Eucharist." [1]

It may be that in both these places the reference is to a distribution of the *Eulogiæ* in Church *after* the Eucharist, which is mentioned just previously (Tattam, p. 64; *Can. Hipp.* 150-154) in connection with the Baptismal rite. If this be so, perhaps Dr. Achelis [2] lays too much stress on the breaking and distributing of the bread, as being the most important points in connection with the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 130.

[2] *Die Canones Hippolyti*, p. 202. *C.H.* 170, 179, certainly refer to breaking and distributing *before* the Agapé "antequam consideant." So also 160, 161, 163.

Agapé[1] as described in these documents; but his statements are so noteworthy that I venture to translate them:

"We now come to the most important part of the Agapé—the breaking of the bread, which is what separates the Agapé from ordinary meals and gives it a semi-liturgical (*halbgottesdienstlichen*) character. Of the scattered notices in the *Canons of Hippolytus* we take the following: *Can.* xxxii. 165; xxxiii. 170; xxxiv. 179; xxxv. 181, 182.[2]"

"1. The breaking of bread is an essential part of all Agapæ, which was never left out.

"2. The highest cleric present performs the act. If none such be there, then a layman.

"3. It is sharply differentiated[3] from the Eucharist. Also, if the Eucharist has taken place before, as at the memorial meals (*Totenmahlen*—ἀναμνήσεις), the breaking of bread follows in its entirety.

"4. It is the solemn (*feierliche*) introductory act of the Agapé, the only ritual component part of the same.

[1] And the only formal ritual acts, p. 202.

[2] But see note 2, *supra*, p. 132.

[3] *Cf.* p. 229, "The Agapæ are long since separated from the Eucharist in *C.H.*" *Cf. C.H.* 205, "ne gustet aliquis fidelium nisi antea de mysteriis sumpserit." So *Can. Rel.* (Hauler) p. 117.

"5. The act consists, if a cleric be present, in a prayer of blessing for those who are there, in which the sign of the cross is made over a loaf; also in the breaking of the bread, and the distribution of it to those present."

"The prayer and the sign of the cross, however, are not essential to the Agapé, they only take place if a cleric be there to fulfil them. The only essentials are the breaking and distribution of the bread."

"6. Those present take the 'bread of exorcism' standing together. Then they seat themselves and begin the actual meal. To the catechumens small pieces are sent. . . ."

When one turns from this description to the text of the *Egyptian Canons*[1] one is struck at once with the difference. The bread of exorcism is mentioned as being "given" (lxxv.), the rite is spoken of as the "*oblatio*" (lxxv. 6, 7). The "*apoforetum*" is "offered" (lxxv. 17), but no mention at all is made of either "breaking" or "distributing" the bread as an essential part of the meal.

And similarly in Lagarde's text of the *Egyptian Church Ordinances*, though the breaking and distribution of the *Eulogia* is dwelt on (47), in the

[1] *Supra*, p. 112.

account of the Agapé there is a like silence as to the *bread* breaking as an essential act, though "they distribute portions" (50). And so in the *Testamentum Domini Nostri*, though partaking (? in the breaking) is mentioned once, it is not emphasized.

On the other hand, thanksgiving is mentioned twice in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (173), "*edant . . . cum laude Dei*," and in the probably interpolated passage (166), "*necessaria est pauperibus* εὐχαριστία *quæ est in initio missæ*."

In the *Egyptian Canons* (Hauler) thanksgiving is not mentioned at all, apparently; whereas in Lagarde's version thanksgiving before receiving the cup is mentioned (48), and each one is bidden to "eat with thanksgiving in the name of God" (51), besides two mentions of thanksgiving in connection with the first fruits.

The conclusion, then, from a comparison of these documents seems to be that while Dr. Achelis' inference is not excluded by the parallel texts, it is scarcely confirmed by them, and therefore a *complete* generalisation is hardly warranted. The texts point rather to local variety[1] of usage in connection

[1] There is hardly, therefore, sure ground for the conclusion which Dr. Achelis further draws as to the Agapé being the true remnant of the Last Supper (*Die Can. Hipp.* p. 210 ff).

with the Agapé, along with an underlying substratum of agreement.

In the already quoted passage of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. c. 20) there is a reference to the custom of first fruits,[1] which is also touched on in the *Egyptian Church Order*. "The first fruits belong to the priests and to those deacons who minister to them."

This is also mentioned in the second book of the *Constitutions* in special connection with the Agapé, and at such length that I have placed the passage side by side with that in the Latin text of the *Didascalia*, which closely resembles it.

Didascaliæ Fragmenta, xxvi. p. 38.	*Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. c. 28.
To those again who desire to hold an Agapé, and seek for old women (*aniculas*[2]), let him frequently also send (*mittat*) her whom he knows to be in tribulation.	To those who choose to invite an elder woman to an Agapé, or a reception (εἰς ἀγάπην ἤτοι δοχὴν), as the Lord calls[3] it, let them most frequently send to such an one as the deacons know to be in distress.
And let that portion which according to custom is due to the priest be set apart, although he be not present at	But let what is the pastor's due (τὸ τῷ ποιμένι ἔθιμον) — I mean the first

[1] *Cf. Didaché*, xiii., "first fruits . . . give to the prophets," etc.; Irenæus, *Hæres.* iv. 32 (18); Origen, *c. Cels.* viii. 33 (4).

[2] πρεσβυτέραν, Lagarde, *v.l.* πρεσβυτέρας.

[3] Luke xiv. 13.

the Agapæ and distributions[1] (*erogationes*, MS. *erogationibus*) in honour of Almighty God. As then a gift is given to each one of the elder women (*presbyterarum* v. l. *-orum*), a double portion shall be given to each deacon in the priesthood (*in Sacerdotio*) of Christ, but a fourfold portion to him who presides as to the glory of the Almighty. But, if anyone wishes to honour the presbyters as well, let him give a double portion to them as to the deacons; for let them also be honoured as apostles and counsellors of the bishop and the crown of the Church.

Didascalia Purior[2] (Lagarde), A. A, p. 261.

But if there be a reader, let him also receive like the presbyters.

fruits — be set apart in the feast for him, even though he be not at the reception, as being a priest, and in honour of the God who has entrusted him with the priesthood (ἱερεῖ—ἱερατείαν). And as much as is given to everyone of the elder women, let double as much be given to the deacons in honour (εἰς γέρας) of Christ. Let also a double portion be set apart for the presbyters as for such as labour about the word of the ministry (τὸν τῆς διακονίας λόγον) in honour of the Apostles of the Lord whose place they maintain as counsellors of the bishop and crown of the Church.

For they are a Sanhedrim and Senate of the Church. If there be a reader, let him receive a single portion in honour of the prophets, and let the singer and porter have as much.

[1] If "erogationes" be the true reading, it seems to mean "distributions." *Cf. Inscr. Gruter. Fol.* 175, "erogentur ex arca Collegii." *Cf.* Oehler's *Tertullian*, i. p. 259 *n.*, and *infra*, p. 150, St. August., *Ep.* xxii., "erogantur," etc.

[2] Which represents the Syriac version which is next in date to the Latin apparently.

To each dignity (ἀξιώματι) therefore let the laity pay its proper honour in their presents, and with consideration according to their rank in life.

Let the laity (οἱ λαϊκοὶ) therefore pay proper honours in their presents, and with consideration according to their rank in life (τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐντροπῇ.)

Before passing from the documents connected with the *Apostolic Constitutions* the reference to "memorials" or funeral meals must be noticed which appears in the eighth book (chap. xlii.): "Let the third day of those who are at rest be celebrated with psalms and lessons and prayers[1] on account of Him who rose within the space of three days; and let the ninth day be celebrated in remembrance of the living (τῶν περιόντων) and of those that sleep; and the fortieth[2] day according to the ancient pattern: (for so did the people lament Moses); and the anniversary day (ἐνιαύσια), in memory of him. And let alms be given to the poor out of his goods for a memorial (ἀνάμνησιν) of him . . . ."

"XLIV. Now when at the memorials (μνείαις) you are invited, feast (ἑστιᾶσθε) with good order, and fear of God, as being able even to intercede for the

[1] "Prayers" do not occur in the Syriac and Coptic versions (*Analect. Antenic.* ii. p. 439).

[2] Thirtieth (Syriac). The translation is from Lagarde (1862).

departed (*δυνάμενοι καὶ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεταστάντων*). Being presbyters and deacons of Christ ye ought always to be sober (*νήφειν*) both among yourselves and among others, so that you may be able to warn the unruly. . . . Nor do we say this only of those of the clergy (*τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ*), but also of every Christian layman (*λαϊκοῦ Χριστιανοῦ*)."[1]

The corresponding passage in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (169) runs as follows: "if memorials[2] (*ἀναμνήσεις*) take place (memorials do take place) on behalf of those who have departed, let them first partake of the mysteries before they sit down together, but not on the first day (of the week) (170). After the oblation let the bread of exorcism[3] be distributed among them."

There does not appear to be any mention of these feasts in the rest of the kindred documents.

The mention of these memorials[4] in close con-

[1] *Cf.* Tattam, *Apost. Constit. Copt.* p. 138; *Pseudo-Hippol. διατάξεις* xxiii. iv.: *Juris Antiqui Rell.* p. 14.

[2] *Cf.* 214. Die prima episcopus . . . sua manu distribuat oblationes omni populo.

[3] The mention of the bread of exorcism connects the feast with the Agapé, See below, p. 156, *n.* 3.

[4] For earlier references to these memorials *cf. Martyr. Polycarp.* xviii. 2; Tertull., *de Monogam.* 10; *de Exhort. Cast.* 11; *de Cor.* 3. And for their connection with the Eucharist, Cyprian, *Ep.* xii. 2; xxxix. 3; i. 2. See Achelis, *C.H.* p. 200-1 *n.*, and Bingham, bk. xx. chap. vii. and bk. xxiii.

nection with the Agapé has great interest as confirming the view of the older writers such as Bingham, viz., that[1] such meals were regarded as Agapæ. The particular mention of the celebration of the Eucharist at the beginning of them gives them a special character. Apropos of this Dr. Achelis[2] dwells on the contrast between the order of the Eucharist and the Agapé, as given here, and that of their early days, and emphasizes the distinction given to these memorials by this practice.

[1] See below, p. 156, *n.* 3, for further reasons.
[2] *Die Canones Hippolyti*, p. 200 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE AGAPÉ IN THE FOURTH CENTURY AND AFTERWARDS

RESUMING now the previous order of the investigation, which has been interrupted by the consideration of the formal directions on the Agapé, I pass on to the more scattered notices or allusions which are to be found in more undoubted writers of the fourth century.

The next statements of importance as to the Agapé come from St. Chrysostom,[1] who says (*Hom.* xxvii. on 1 Cor.): "As in the case of the three thousand who believed in the beginning, all had eaten their meals in common, and had all things in common. Such was also the practice when the Apostle wrote this; not thus, indeed, exactly (*οὐχ οὕτω μὲν μετὰ ἀκριβείας*), but as it were a certain outflowing of the communion[2] (*ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς κοινωνίας*) abiding among them, descended also to them that came after. And

[1] See Appendix I. [2] See above, chap. i.

because it came to pass that some were poor and others rich, they laid not down all their goods in the midst, but made the tables open on stated days, as was natural (*ὡς εἰκός*); and when the meeting (*τῆς συνάξεως*) was over, after the communion of the mysteries, they all went to a common entertainment (*εὐωχίαν*), the rich bringing their provisions with them, and the poor and destitute being invited by them and all feasting in common (*κοινῇ πάντων ἑστιωμένων*).[1] But afterwards this custom also became corrupt."

And in another homily (xxii. *Oportet hæreses esse*) he says: "From this law and custom (of having all things common) there arose then another admirable custom in the churches. For when all the faithful met together, after hearing the instruction, and after the prayers, and communion of the mysteries, they did not immediately return home, upon the breaking up of the assembly, but the rich and wealthy brought meat from their own houses; and called the poor and made common tables, common dinners, common banquets in the church itself" (*κοινὰς ἐποιοῦντο τραπέζας, κοινὰς ἑστιάσεις, κοινὰ συμπόσια ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*).

[1] *Cf.* on *ἑστίασις*, *supra*, chap. iii.

"And so from this fellowship in eating and the reverence for the place (*τῆς εὐλαβείας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου*), they were all strictly united in charity one with another, and much pleasure and profit arose thence to them all; for the poor were comforted and the rich reaped the fruits of their benevolence, both from those whom they fed and from God."

I have elsewhere criticised these statements and their claim to be regarded as a really historical account of apostolic and sub-apostolic practice. But, putting that aspect aside, they seem to give us a—perhaps somewhat idealised—picture of the Agapé in St. Chrysostom's time, or perhaps rather earlier.

This statement is reproduced in effect by the pseudo-Jerome (*in* 1 *Cor.* xi.), who says: "When they met in the church they made their oblations separately; and after the communion, whatever remained of the sacrifices they consumed these in the church, making a common supper together." And Theodoret[1] speaks similarly (*in* 1 *Cor.* xi. 16).

It is clear then that in Chrysostom's day, and for some time previously, the Agapé had been

[1] *Cf.* Theophylact in 1 Cor. xi. 17, etc.

held in the church;[1] but as to when this practice actually began there does not seem to be clear evidence. Chrysostom's description has a somewhat formal and technical cast, which is obviously very different from the third and second century writers, and which shows him to be somewhat lacking in historical imagination, and to be describing the past somewhat in terms of his own day.

But, in addition to the fact of the Agapé being now held in the church, we see from Chrysostom that in the fourth century its eleemosynary character had become more strongly marked than before; and this is confirmed by the well-known reference[2] which Julian the Apostate makes to the Agapé in one of his letters (*Fragm. Epistolæ ad fin.*), where he represents the Galilæans as taking advantage of the neglect of the poor by their own heathen priests to lure them into Christianity, "as a child might be lured by a cake from home on board ship, and so sold into slavery in some foreign part" (*διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατῶντες . . . ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο . . .*). "In the same manner, beginning with their Agapé, as it

[1] *Cf. supra*, chap. iv.
[2] Already mentioned in the Introduction.

is called amongst them, and their entertainment and ministry of tables . . . they have led the faithful into atheism" (*ἀρξάμενοι διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν . . . πιστοὺς ἐνήγαγον εἰς ἀθεότητα*).[1]

This passage bears witness at once to the influence of the Agapé in the fourth century, and to the increasing dangers with which it was surrounded.

From the earliest days of Christianity, as we have seen, these dangers were serious to Christians living in the midst of a corrupt Jewish or heathen civilization, of which clubs and social feasts formed a great part; but in the days of persecution, though scandals might occasionally occur in connection with the Agapé, it was an undoubted bond of union and a strength—above all to the poor or weak brethren, who there mixed on equal terms with the wealthy, and with those who were strong in the faith. But, now that under Constantine official recognition and

[1] See also Julian, *Epist.* xlix. (*ad Arsacium*): *οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπομεν δ μάλιστα τὴν ἀθεότητα συνηύξησεν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν βίον . . . ξενοδοχεῖα καθ' ἑκάστην κατάστησον πυκνὰ ἵν' ἀπολαύσωσιν οἱ ξένοι τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν φιλανθρωπίας. . . . Τρέφουσι δε οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους.* The whole letter is worth study.

state patronage had been given to Christianity, it was inevitable that evil results should begin to indicate themselves in the case of this ideal union, which now began to show the seeds of its final decay.

And so, now, we find the Church in the Synod of Gangra[1] (*circa* A.D. 353, *Canon* xi.) for the first time formally condemning the abuse of the Agapé: "If anyone[2] despise those who in faith hold Agapæ, and who for the honour of the Lord invite the brethren to meet, and if he be unwilling to take part in these invitations because he holds what takes place in contempt, let him be anathema." . . . "We approve of the Church assemblies as being for the public good, and pronounce a blessing on signal acts of charity done to our brethren."

It was apparently the case of the Eustathians that was specially aimed at. They "moved with pride," despised the assembly of the orthodox, and chose to hold the Agapé for themselves in private houses.

[1] For the disputed date see *Dict. Christian Antiqq.*, *s.v.* Gangra.

[2] Ἔι τις καταφρονοίη τῶν ἐκ πίστεως ἀγάπας ποιούντων καὶ διὰ τιμὴν κυρίου συγκαλούντων τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ μὴ ἐθέλοι κοινωνεῖν ταῖς κλήσεσι, διὰ τὸ ἐξευτελίζειν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

But in spite of official reproofs the evil side of these entertainments continued to prevail after the time of Constantine, and especially in the Eastern Church, as we see from the statements of Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom himself.

By this time a further development had taken place in the character of the Agapæ, and they had, for a considerable time past, been gradually converted into entertainments which families prepared on the [1] death of relatives, in churches, on the anniversaries of martyrs, and at which clergy and poor were regular guests.

And so Gregory apostrophizes the martyrs in whose honour the feast was held: "Tell us if the assemblies really please you. For what can be more delightful? But for what reason? Is it for the sake of virtue? . . . You, O holy martyrs, call I to witness, these children of lust have changed your honours into a disgrace." [2]

[1] See above, chap. iv., and Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 50; *Cf.* Augustin., *Ep.* xxii., *ad Aurelium*, quoted in text, p. 150.

[2] Gregor. Nazian., *Carmina*, ccxvii.-ccxxi. :—

Μάρτυρες εἴπατε ἄμμιν ἀληθῶς εἰ φιλὸν ὑμὶν
Αἱ συνοδοί. . . .

Νῦν δὲ τάρβος ἔχει με, ἀκούσατε ὦ φιλόκωμοι,
πρὸς τοὺς δαιμονικοὺς αὐτομολεῖτε τύπους.

And again (*Orat.* vi. 4 ff.) he says: "Let us also offer our bodies and souls a living sacrifice. . . . If we gather ourselves together in this way; so shall we keep the feast day as will give pleasure to Christ and honour to the martyrs. If, however, we come together to satisfy the belly and to enjoy the changing and fleeting pleasures, and so turn this place of temperance into a place of gluttony and satiety. . . . I do not see how our conduct corresponds with the occasion."

And similarly St. Chrysostom, in spite of the somewhat ideal picture of the Agapé he had elsewhere given, is obliged to caution the guests[1] (*Hom.* xlvii., Panegyric on Julian the Martyr):

"If thou desirest the enjoyment of pleasure now as well, what is more enjoyable than this assembly? What more graceful, than the spectacle which is spiritual (*θεάτρου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ*), than thy own strains[2] (*τῶν μελῶν τῶν σῶν*); than the fellowship (*συνουσίας*) with the brethren? But wouldest thou

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οὐ ζητεῖτε τράπεζαν ἐὔπνουν οὐδὲ μαγείρους·
οἱ δ' ἐρινγὰς παρέχουσ' ἀντ' ἀρέτης τὸ γέρας.

Μαρτύρομαι ἀθλόφοροι καὶ μάρτυρες, ὕβριν ἔθηκαν
τιμὰς ὑμετέρας οἱ φιλογαστορίδαι.

[1] *Cf.* Gieseler, ii. p. 51 *n.*
[2] Melodies.

participate in a bodily table as well? There it is lawful, after the breaking up of the assembly (σύλλογον), to take one's ease (καταλύσαντι) under a vine or fig-tree near the monument of the martyr, and to allow the body relaxation, and yet secure the conscience from condemnation (τὸ συνειδὸς ἀπαλλάξαι καταγνώσεως). For the martyr sees you close by, and, being near and standing by the very table, he does not allow the enjoyment to resolve itself (ἐκχυθῆναι) into sin, but as a tutor or most excellent father, being looked on with the eye of faith, he restrains (καταστέλλει) the mirth, he cuts off all extravagant pleasures," etc.

And these warnings were not confined to Eastern writers. There are similar complaints from the African Church, such as that of the author of the treatise *de Duplici Martyrio*, which is sometimes ascribed to St. Cyprian, but is evidently a later work. "Drunkenness[1] (he says) has become in our Africa to such an extent a custom, that men hardly consider it a sin. Do we not see that one Christian is pressed by another to drink himself full at the memorials of the martyrs. . . . Is this

[1] "Porro temulentia adeo communis est Africæ nostræ ut propemodum non habeant pro crimine. Annon videmus ad martyrum memorias Christianum a Christiano cogi ad ebrietatem? An hoc levius crimen esse ducimus, quam hircum immolare Baccho?" etc.

to be regarded as a lesser sin than to offer a goat to Bacchus?"

And similarly St. Augustine (*Epist.* xxii., *ad Aurelium*, chap. vi.) says: "Those debaucheries and lavish banquets in cemeteries are usually believed by a sensual and ignorant populace (*imperita plebes*) to be not only commemorations (*honores*) of martyrs, but even consolations to the dead (*solatia mortuorum*)." And again (*contra Faustum*, xx. 20) "Our love-feasts feed the poor either with vegetable food or meat—commonly at love-feasts, even meats are expended (*erogantur*) on the poor." [1]

Indeed, both in East and West, there seems to have been a tendency on the part of the ignorant populace to confuse these Agapæ with the heathen *Parentalia* and sacrificial festivals; [2] so much so that St. Augustine himself speaks as if these Christian memorial feasts had been appointed as a substitute for those heathen banquets. "When," he says,[3] "on the establishment of peace after the persecutions, crowds of heathen, who desired to come under the name of Christians, were hindered

[1] *Cf. supra*, chap. iv. p. 137. (*Didasc.* xxvi.) "agapis et erogationibus."

[2] *Cf.* Faustus, *supra* Introd. p. 2 ff.

[3] *Epist.* xxix. *ad Alypium*, chap. ix.

by the fact that, being used to spend festal days with their idols in abundant feasting and debauchery, they could not easily refrain from these pleasures, our ancestors determined that in the meantime forbearance should be shown for this part of their weakness, and that in place of (*post*) those they were surrendering, other festal days should be celebrated in honour of holy martyrs, at least not with similar profanity (*sacrilegio*), if with similar display." [1]

And St. Basil [2] (*Regula Major, qu. xl.*) speaks of sellers in the sanctuary on festivals of martyrs trafficking in what was necessary for the feasts.

And so we arrive at the beginning of the sad end of this beautiful and characteristically Christian custom of love-feasts, when the Church itself was obliged to discountenance them, and forbid their celebration in sacred buildings. The Council of Laodicea (*circa* A.D. 363) enacts (*Canon* 28) that [3] "it is not lawful to hold the so-called Agapæ in

[1] *Cf.* also Greg. Nyss. in *Vita Greg. Thaumaturg.* Div. i. § 70.

[2] *ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις γινομένας ἀγορασίας οἰκείας ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος δείκνυσιν.* *Cf.* Paulinus Nol. (*Nat. s. Felicis*, ix.) "Divendant vina tabernis. Sancta precum domus est Ecclesia."

[3] *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔσθίειν καὶ ἀκκούβιτα στρωννύειν.*

the Churches, or assemblies, and to eat, or set out couches in the house of God."

"The so-called Agapæ"—what a melancholy development of that which seems to have been originally an outcome of the "καινὴ ἐντολὴ ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους!" But after all it was the Eucharist and not the Agapé that was of Divine institution, and so it was the Eucharist—the Institution of Him "Who knew what was in man," and not the Agapé, which man had, with the best intentions, added to the Eucharist, that survived.

The subsequent history of the Agapé will need only to be briefly summarised.[1]

Henceforward Agapæ were regularly celebrated in the East, *e.g.* in Antioch, beside the place dedicated to martyrs.[2]

By the end of the fourth century they seem to have died out of most parts of the Western Church, as St. Augustine tells us (*Ep.* xxii. *ad Aurelium*, chap. iv.): "Throughout the greater part of Italy, and in all or almost all other churches beyond the sea they had either not been celebrated at all, or if they had arisen or become customary, they were

[1] See further in Binterim, ii. pt. 1. ii. sect. 9, and Gieseler, ii. 52;

[2] Chrysost., *Hom.* xlvii. in S. Jul., *του μαρτυρίου πλησίον ὑπὸ συκὴν ἢ ἄμπελον.*

put an end to and abolished after careful consideration by the Bishops."[1]

St. Ambrose, *e.g.* had prohibited them at Milan, as St. Augustine tells us (*Confess.* vi. 2) in order that no opportunity for debauchery might be given to the intemperate, and "because this kind of *Parentalia* (*illa quasi Parentalia*) resembled very closely the superstition of the heathen."

Paulinus of Nola is our chief authority for customs which prevailed elsewhere in Italy in his day, and he mentions how at Rome, Alethius entertained all the poor in the Basilica of St. Peter at the funeral of his wife. At Nola, Paulinus did his utmost to put an end to the practice of commemorative feasting in the Church of St. Felix.[2]

In Africa such festivals seem still to have been universal; but St. Augustine used his influence against them, as he tells us (*Epistola* xxii. *ad Aurelium*, chap. vi.), at first by urging Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, against them, and subsequently by his own action, at Hippo, which

[1] "Per Italiæ maximam partem et in aliis omnibus aut prope omnibus transmarinis Ecclesiis partim nunquam facta sunt, partim vel orta vel inveterata episcoporum diligentia et animadversione exstincta atque deleta sunt."

[2] Gieseler, ii. p. 51-2; Paulin. Nol., *Ep.* 33.

he describes[1] at considerable length. "And I added an harangue in order to show with what unusual heat and vehemence our Lord drove out of the temple drunken revellings (*ebriosa convivia*)," etc.

And, finally, the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397, *Canon* xxx.) enacted that "no bishops or clergy should hold banquets in a church unless it should happen that the needs of hospitality required that they should take refreshment there when on a journey. And that their flocks should also, as far as possible, be debarred from entertainments of this kind."[2]

In the Eastern churches the Agapæ seem to have survived somewhat longer without further general condemnation.

Theodoret, for instance (A.D. *circ.* 429, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 11) speaks of certain martyrs being honoured by a yearly feasting (*μέχρι δὲ τήμερον ἐτησίῳ δημοθοινίᾳ γεραίρονται*). But in A.D. 692 the Trullan or "Quinisextan" Council (*Canon* 74)

[1] *Ep.* xxix. *ad Alypium*, A.D. 395.

[2] "Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur: populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis quantum fieri potest prohibeantur." *Cf. supra*, *Egyptian Ch. Ord.* 49, *εἰ . . . λαμβάνειν τις τι βούλεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

under Justinian II. repeated the Canon of Laodicea[1] against them, with the additional words, "those who dare to do this must either cease, or be excommunicated" (ἀφοριζέσθωσαν).

But in the Western Church the last extant enactment against them is as early as A.D. 541, in the Second Council of Orleans (chap. xii. *Labbe* iv. p. 1781): "That no one is to perform his devotions in a church with singing or drinking or wantonness, for by such devotion God is not pleased but rather incensed."[2]

Yet, in spite of restrictions and prohibitions, it was long before the Agapé finally died out. And in its later days it developed into a variety of forms which call for notice.

Theodoret (*Græc. Affect. Curatio Diss.* viii., *circa* 437 A.D.), speaks of Agapæ in connection with commemoration[3] feasts as taking the place of such festivals as the Dionysia: "the ceremonies (δημοθοινίαι) of Peter and Paul and Thomas, etc., are gone through, and in place of the ancient procession (πομπείας) and disgraceful obscenity of word

[1] *Supra*, p. 151.

[2] "Ne quis in ecclesia votum suum cantando, bibendo, vel lasciviendo exsolvat; quia Deus talibus votis irritatur potius quam placetur."

[3] Natalitia, *i.e.* birthdays into a better world.

and deed, temperate gatherings are celebrated (σώφρονες ἑορτάζονται πανηγύρεις), involving not drunkennesss and revelling and laughter, but divine hymns, and the hearing of sacred oracles (λογίων), and prayers enhanced with commendable tears (ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην δακρύοις).[1]

And Gregory of Nazianzus speaks (*Ep.* i. 14)[2] of such feasts in connection with marriages.

The custom of Agapæ in connection with funerals has been mentioned before. It was originally[3] in all probability a grafting, so to

[1] *Cf.* St. Aug., *Ep.* xxix. *ad Alyp.*, "legebatur alternatim et psallebatur . . . non parva multitudine utriusque (sexus) . . . manente et psallente."

[2] *Cf.* also Greg. Nazianz., *Epist.* lvii. (ccxciii.) and ccxxxii. (cxciii.).

[3] It has been questioned whether these funeral and memorial feasts were Agapæ at all. My reasons for thinking that they were are briefly these, in addition to the evidence given above, p. 138: (1) That legalisation of *sodalicia* "*religionis causa*" naturally would dispose the Christians in early times to shelter their Agapæ under the wing of *collegia funeraticia*, which all had feasts. (See Appendix II.) (2) That Tertullian in his description of the Agapé (*Apol.* xxxix.) distinctly dwells on the "arca," which was common to the Christian "*corpus*" with the heathen *collegium*, as expended "egenis alendis *humandisque*." (*Cf. ad Martyr:* 1. Inter cetera alimenta, beati martyres designati, etc., and *de Jejun.* chap. 12, and the idea of alms-giving in connection with burials survives in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 42), quoted above). (3) That the language applied to these feasts is very similar to that used of the Agapé, though the *word* Agapé is scarcely ever applied to them. *Cf.* Constantine, *Orat. ad Sanct.* chap. xii., σωφρονέστατα δε πολλῶν καὶ

speak, of the Christian Agapé upon the immemorial custom of funeral feasts; and how far the distinctive features of the Agapæ survived in this it is not possible to determine; but several Western writers of this period speak of such feasts in much the same terms as they apply to the Agapé proper. St. Augustine, for instance (*De Moribus Eccles.* cxxxiv.), says: "I know many who adore tombs and pictures, I know many who drink most lavishly over the dead, and who, setting forth banquets before corpses, dig their own graves over those who have been brought to the grave (*super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant*), and who put their own acts of gluttony and excess down to the account of religion."

And similarly Paulinus of Nola (A.D. 397, *Epist. ad Pammachium*, xiii. 11), speaking "*de lacrima-*

τὰ συμπόσια πρὸς ἔλεον καὶ ἀνακτήσιν τῶν δεομένων καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων. See Bingham, bk. xx. chap. vii.; Cave, *Primitive Christianity*, chap. viii.; *Dict. Christ. Antiqq. s.v.* "Cemetery." Prof. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., 119, says: "The Christians were the dominant class in most Phrygian cities after 200. They registered themselves as "collegia tenuiorum" (*Dig.* 47, 22), and accommodated themselves in all possible ways to the Roman law." Some of the inscriptions given by Prof. Ramsay tend to confirm the above view, *e.g.* Nos. 455-7 (*Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 562), where Aristeas gives a piece of ground to a Christian burial and benefit society on certain conditions.

rum sanctitate," adds: "Methinks I see all those crowds of the poor (*miserandæ*) populace, those nurslings of divine piety gathered together into the magnificent (*amplissimam*) basilica of the glorious Peter, and so carefully disposed in companies (*per accubitus*), and all being fed with abundance of food (*profluis . . . cibis*)."[1]

And, lastly, there is mention of religious feasts in connection with dedication festivals, which by the time of Gregory[2] of Nazianzus had become an "ancient usage" (ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος); but which gradually had grown more licentious, until at the beginning of the seventh century we find Gregory[3] the Great writing to Mellitus, who was about to join Augustine in England, and, in order to check the popular tendency to idolatry, "allowing that, as some solemnity must be conceded as a compensation for the transformation of the heathen temples into Christian churches, and the abolition of the sacrifices, these festivals should be observed on the anniversaries of the day of the dedication,"

[1] But see also Gregor. Nazianz., *Carmin.*, ii., xvii. (Benedict. Ed.), οὐδ' ἱερὴν ἐπὶ δαῖτα γενέθλιον, ἠὲ θανόντος, ἤ τινα νυμφιδίην σὺν πλεόνεσσι θέων.

[2] *Orat.* xiii. See *Dict. Christ. Antiqq. s.v.*

[3] *Epist. ad Mellitum.* See the fuller account in Binterim, ii. pts. i. and ii.

when, he suggests, "after killing cattle to the praise of God, they should celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting."[1]

In conclusion it may be well to gather up very briefly the somewhat scattered threads of this discussion, so as to present the main results of it in a convenient form.

The attempt made (Introd.) to investigate to some extent the environment—heathen and Jewish—in which the love-meals grew up, showed, with regard to the former, that both secular and religious associations, either Greek, Roman, or Oriental in origin, and usually involving common meals, were prevalent throughout the Roman Empire during the period when the Agapé arose; and that these associations were, in some cases, not without morally beneficial results; but that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that they were on the same moral plane with these Christian love-meals; and that therefore they were unlikely to have had any direct influence

[1] "Ut die dedicationis vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum . . . tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias . . . faciant, et religiosis conviviis sollemnitatem celebrent.

on their origin (*cf.* App. I. C, p. 179), though they paved the way, so to speak, for their development, and subsequently exercised a corrupting effect upon them (pp. 18, 19). On the other hand, a survey of the history of Jewish common meals, anterior to and contemporary with the rise of the Agapé (pp. 20-35), showed that they differed essentially from the all-embracing character of the Christian love-feast, in that they were primarily for purposes of exclusion (p. 34) or of ceremonial purity (p. 31); but, nevertheless, that the sacrificial and symbolical significance of common meals (pp. 22, 23) had its roots so deep in the Hebrew character that it could not be without effect on the relations of Christ to His disciples. Not only did our Lord's identification of the Apostles with Himself express itself in a constant table-fellowship (p. 37), but He repeatedly spoke of His Kingdom under the image of a Supper (pp. 36, 37). And this symbolism naturally survived and developed in the infant Christian community in the shape of common meals (pp. 39-42). The idea of oneness in Christ thus expressed found its culmination in the special Commemoration[1] instituted

[1] Dr. P. Gardner (*Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 461) says that "there is no proof that Jesus intended to institute a Lord's

by Christ Himself in the Eucharist (pp. 45 and 47). The sacrificial character of this Institution is not so strongly emphasised in the Gospels as by St. Paul (p. 38, *n.* 2, App. I. A, p. 165); but the Institution cannot, on any showing, be altogether divorced from its sacrificial surroundings, or from the gradual *propaideia* which led up to it (App. I. A, p. 165 *n.*); and, though the Agapé and the Eucharist were at first united, *inter alia* the language of St. Paul indicates that from the first

Supper," and that "the Christian Sacrament, as we know it, represents the early Christian custom of the common meal mixed with an infusion of sacrificial mysticism, probably due to Paul." But taking the Synoptists' account (even apart from the doubtful words in St. Luke) it is steeped in sacrificial associations. "The influence of the idea of the Lamb," *e.g.* (Isa. liii. 7), "in shaping the Messianic hope of Judaism, cannot be over-estimated" (Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, *s.v.* Lamb. *Cf.* John i. 29, 36; 1 Pet. i. 19; John vi. 35, 53, 54, and Stier *Reden Jesu*, E. T., vii. p. 77). As, however, the lamb is not *mentioned* in the Synoptists, its significance cannot perhaps be pressed. But for the sacrificial significance of bread and wine see further Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, part ii. pp. 76 and 200; Maclear, *Evidential Value of the Holy Eucharist*, p. 51 ff., p. 73 ff.; also Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, *s.v.* Lord's Supper. And, even putting aside the Synoptists' account, there is no reason to distrust St. Paul's (probably earlier) statement (1 Cor. xi. 23 ff.), which, if unhistorical and merely 'ecstatic,' could easily have been discredited by some of those present at the Last Supper. If the Eucharist was a mere development of the common meal, why did both survive so long in the Church? See also Dr. Sanday in Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, ii. p. 638, and reff. there; and *supra*, p. 22.

there was some distinction between the two (pp. 38, *n.* 2; 43, *n.* 5; 48). The early and apparently natural separation of the two would otherwise be difficult to account for, on the supposition, *i.e.*, that every common meal, and the whole of every such meal, was an Eucharist from the first (p. 43, *n.* 5).

The seeds which bore fruit in this separation already appear in the description in 1 Corinthians (App. I. C, pp. 47, 50), though whether the feast described there was called an Agapé is somewhat uncertain (App. I. C). The evidence of the *Didaché* seems to show the two meals still in union, whether this was normal or not (pp. 31, 32, 53, 53, *n.* 4). But Pliny's letter to Trajan (112 A.D.) is commonly taken as indicating that the separation took place then, or not long previously (p. 59 and *n.* 2, p. 56, *n.* 3, pp. 187, 196), at least in parts of the Church. The silence of Justin (*c.* 140 A.D.) and Irenæus (177 A.D.) as to the Agapé hardly seems conclusive (p. 61, App. II. 197, *n.* 2) as to its non-existence at Rome and in Gaul respectively (*cf.* 61 and App. II. pp. 190 ff.) in their time, in view of the strong and apparently representative statement of Tertullian, though it may indicate that, owing perhaps partly to the varying

enforcement of the law against associations in different parts of the Empire, the development of the Agapé was not uniform (App. II. pp. 188, 196, *n.* 3). But, by the end of the second or beginning of the third century, the Agapé, as a distinctive ceremony, seems to have been in vogue in East and West alike (chaps. ii. and iii., especially p. 104). The exact relation of the Agapé to the legal enactments of the Roman Emperors at this period is uncertain, but there is some indication of its legalisation in connection with the *collegia funeraticia* (p. 104 *n.*, p. 156 *n.* 3, p. 189 *n.* p. 199 *n.*)

At this time there also appears to be some uncertainty as to the separation of the Eucharist from the Agapé in parts of the Egyptian Church (chap. iii. pp. 79, 90-3); but the directions as to the Agapé in the literature of the Apostolic Constitutions represent the differentiation as clear in Syria and Egypt generally, in the fourth century, if not in the latter part of the third; and the general agreement, at least in outline, between these documents, and the statements of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria as to the love-feast seems to indicate that the separation of the two rites was almost universal (p. 126 ff.).

At the same time a comparison of these documents with each other points to a good deal of local variety in the ritual of these common meals (chap. iv. pp. 126-9).

The further history of the Agapé, as gathered from undoubted writers of the fourth century, and afterwards (chap. v.), unfolds a sad picture of gradual decay, partly consequent on the increasing admixture of Christianity with pagan elements, which its official recognition in the Roman Empire tended to promote.

APPENDIX I

(To Chapter I)

A

IN seeking to explain the passage on the assembly in 1 Cor. xi., I have been led to the same conclusion as Bishop Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, vol. ii. sect. 1, p. 313), viz. "that in the Apostolic Age the Eucharist formed part of the Agapé. The original form of the Lord's Supper[1] as it was instituted by Christ was thus in a manner kept up. This appears from 1 Cor. xi. 17 *e.g.* (comp. Acts xx. 7), from which passage we infer that the celebration of the Eucharist came, as it

[1] Dr. Armitage Robinson (*Encycl. Biblica*, *s.v.* Eucharist), in view of the uncertainty as to whether the Last Supper was a Passover Supper, warns us against being dominated in our conception of the original institution by the consideration of the elaborate ceremonial of the Passover celebration, and he connects the institution rather with "the simpler formula which accompanied the ordinary Jewish meals." But see Bp. J. Wordsworth, *Holy Communion*, p. 14 ff., and the reff. there; Harnack, *Texte*, *etc.*, vii., ii. 137.

naturally would, at a later stage in the entertainment."[1]

But this statement is at variance with the well-known passage in St. Chrysostom (on 1 Cor., *Homil.* xxvii.), who says that "when the solemn service (*τῆς συνάξεως*) was completed, after the communion of the mysteries, they all went to a common entertainment, the rich bringing their provisions with them, and the poor and destitute being invited by them, and all feasting in common. But afterwards this custom also became corrupt."[2]

Some modern writers, relying on Chrysostom's statement, maintain either that from the first the Eucharist preceded the Agapé, or — somewhat strangely in view of Chrysostom's own words— that there was no direct connection between the Eucharist and the Agapé. Mr. Homersham Cox,[3] *e.g.*, boldly declares, in spite of the evidence adduced above, that "there is not the slightest reference in ancient writers to a combination of the Eucharist and the Agapé."

[1] See also Duchesne, *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 48, who appears to take the same view.

[2] See also Chryosostom's *Homily*, "Oportet hæreses esse" (Benedictine Ed., vol. iii. p. 244), and Theophylact in 1 Cor. xi. 17. *Cf.* chap. v., *supra*, and Bingham, bk. xv. chap. vii.

[3] *First Century of Christianity*, p. 312.

But apart from the very strong presumption that, in the absence of express direction to the contrary (of which there is no evidence), the Apostles would have followed the order of the original Institution, the considerations adduced, and the emphasis of St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 25) on the institution of the cup being *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι*[1] cannot be so lightly set aside. Moreover, the extreme simplicity and the untechnical character of the language applied to the Eucharist in the Acts scarcely leave room for doubt, in spite of Chrysostom's statement, which was made probably not earlier than 387 A.D.,[2] that the view taken in the text is the true one. By Chrysostom's time the custom of early celebrations and fasting

[1] The normal order of a Greek *δεῖπνον* would not be inconsistent with this. The *πρῶται τράπεζαι* included the whole of what we consider the meal, and wine was not drunk till the *δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*, when, after a libation to the "good spirit" (*ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*), the guests drank from their first cup to *Διὸς Σωτῆρος*. The *δεῖπνον* of St. Paul might correspond in order to the *δεύτεραι τράπεζαι*, the *πρῶται* for satisfying hunger (1 Cor. xi. 34) having presumedly been eaten at home. *Cf.* Xenoph., *Symp.* ii. 1; Plato, *Symp.* chap. iv.; and Smith's *Dict. Antiqq. s.v.* "Cœna." *Cf.* Prof. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 485; *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 208. "The Christian lived in externals much as before." . . . "It took centuries for Christianity to disengage itself from its surroundings, and to remake society and the rules of life."

[2] See *Dict. Christ. Biogr. s.v.* Chrysostom.

Communion had become so ingrained into the life of the Church that to an uncritical mind it might well seem incredible that things had ever been otherwise, whereas recent historical criticism points to the conclusion that the practice of Chrysostom's time was due, not to immemorial custom or direct Divine precept, but to the *communis sensus* of the Catholic Church based on a sad experience of the abuse of the original practice.[1]

Dr. John Lightfoot, whose opinion is always worthy of respect, owing to his learning, strongly questions the "more general opinion" that the Agapæ were solemn assemblies which every congregation had, and at which they ate together at receiving the Sacrament, "some think instantly before, some after;"[2] and he urges that what St. Paul condemns in 1 Cor. xi. is "not only nor so much the misdemeanours at these suppers as the suppers themselves," and he declares that the Agapæ were really the entertainment of strangers,[3] though he is "far from denying that some Agapæ were used as

[1] Early, *i.e.* "antelucan," celebrations, as above stated (chap. ii.), appear to have originated in the desire to escape notice in time of persecution.

[2] Sermon on Jude 12, Works, Ed. Pitman, vi. 232 ff. *Cf.* on 1 Cor. xi., vol. ii. p. 525.

[3] *Cf.* Rom. xvi. 1 and 23.

appendages to the Lord's Supper in more ancient ages of the Church, but whether in the times of the Apostles we ask, and whether Jude means such we very much doubt." . . .

"[1] Those Agapæ we suppose were when strangers were hospitably entertained in each Church, and that at the cost of each Church. And we are of opinion that this laudable custom was derived from the synagogues of the Jews. In these synagogues they neither eat nor drink—but there was a place near the synagogue in which they were wont to sleep and eat." [2]

But though, as we have seen, the Jewish custom offers points of contact with the subsequent developments of the Agapé in the Christian Church, there is no trace of such *ξενοδόχια* in the evidence I have above adduced.[3]

The N.T. passages quoted in support of this view, are: Acts xviii. 7 (Paul), "departed thence and went into the house of a certain man named Titus

[1] P. 523.

[2] *Gloss. in Bava Bathra*, fol. 3, 2. See also L., vol. iii. p. 274.

[3] The method of charitable relief described by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. chap. lxvii.) in connection with the Eucharist, does not suggest any such complete organization:—*τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς . . . καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις.* But the concluding words seem to indicate the direction which subsequent organization might take.

Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue" (*οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ*); Rom. xvi. 1, 2, "Phœbe a servant of the Church . . . a succourer (*προστάτις*) of many"; and 1 Tim. v. 10, *εἰ ἐξενοδόχησεν, εἰ ἁγίων πόδας ἔνιψεν.* But as a matter of fact there is little or no trace of this form in the organization of Christian charity in the [1] Apostolic or Sub-Apostolic Age; and the straitened and harassed circumstances of the infant Church would have obviously made any such institutions difficult, if not impossible. Such hospitality was evidently left to the generosity of individuals at first, as we see, *e.g.*, from Rom. xii. 23: "Gaius, *ὁ ξένος μου καὶ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*" [2]

B

The meaning of the term *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* in 1 Cor. xi. has been so much disputed, that it seems to require a brief discussion.

[1] Drescher ("de . . . Agapis," sect. 2) points out that both rich and poor are included in the feast in 1 Cor. xi., whereas in the distribution of food only the needy were invited. *Cf.* Prudentius Hymn II. *de Passione Laurentii*, v. 158, *sqq.*

[2] See further in Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, chap. iv., Suicer Thesaurus, *s.v.* *ξενοδοχεῖον*, *πτωχεῖον*, etc.

A recent[1] writer seeks to prove that in 1 Cor. xi. κυριακὸν refers to God the Father, but with an apparently strange want of reference to the immediate context (*vv.* 23, 24) in which St. Paul says that he received "from the Lord" (ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου) . . . that the Lord (ὁ κύριος) Jesus . . . took bread . . . and likewise also the cup after supper (μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι); and throughout the chapter, and indeed in the majority of cases through the Epistle[2] both κύριος and ὁ κύριος seem to refer to the Lord Jesus. In the only other passage[3] in the New Testament in which the adjective κυριακὸς occurs, it apparently refers to the commemoration of the day on which it was declared with power that Jesus is Lord, Sunday, according to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. chap. lxvii.), being "the day on which we hold our common assembly because . . . Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead." But, though Bishop Lightfoot (on Ignatius, *Ep. ad Magnes.* p. 129) thinks this interpretation doubtful, at any rate St Paul's own use of the expression "the day of the Lord" (1 Cor. v. 5, and 2 Cor. i. 14)

[1] My friend, the Rev. C. R. D. Biggs, "The Sacrificial significance of the term Lord's Supper," p. 16.

[2] For a possible exception in this chapter, *cf.* xi. 32 with x. 22; see Thayer, *Lex. s.v.* κύριος.

[3] Rev. i. 10, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's (κυριακῇ) day."

refers not to the Father, but to the Son. There does not appear to be anything in the Old Testament use of *κύριος* or *κυριακὸς*,[1] there is certainly nothing in the LXX usage of *κύριος*, to counterbalance these considerations. Nor in the face of them does St. Paul's quotation of "the table of the Lord" (*τράπεζα κυρίου*) from Mal. i. 7 seem to be conclusive to the contrary.

The word *δεῖπνον* is in itself of course not necessarily restricted to an evening or night meal,[2] but the evident allusion to the Paschal Supper in this passage (1 Cor. xi.) as well as the fact that the Jewish sacrificial meals were usually held in the evening leave no doubt as to the connotation of the term here.[3]

But the question which more nearly concerns us is, whether the expression *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* refers to the Eucharist alone, or to the Agapé, or includes both. If the view taken in the text be correct, viz., that the Agapé culminated in, or at any rate preceded the Eucharist, the context

[1] *κυριακὸς* only occurs in 2 Macc. (xv. 36), with a variant.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Thayer's *Lexicon*, N.T. *s.v.*

[3] *Cf.* Luke xiv. 12, *ὅταν ποιῆς ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον.* The Passover might be celebrated only between sunset and midnight. "The Pascha is not eaten but during the night, nor yet later than the middle of the night" (*Mishna*, *Sebachim*, v. 8).

seems undoubtedly in favour of the third meaning. "If," the Apostle says in effect, "you disgracefully abuse even the Agapé, it is impossible for you to eat a true Lord's Supper" or, with the alternative rendering: "it is not really to eat a Lord's Supper that you come together"—a supper, *i.e.*, which like the first Lord's Supper[1] culminated in the supreme act of eating and drinking the Lord's Body and Blood. And, on the whole, this sense seems to harmonise best with the context.

Mr. Scudamore (*Dict. Christian Antiqq.*, *s.v.* Lord's Supper) suggests that the title included the Agapé at first, "partly in order to veil the Sacrament from unbelievers, partly owing to the language of St. Paul (1 Cor. xi.) being so understood."

The fact, which I have not seen noticed by any other writer, that the *Canons of Hippolytus*[2] (172) speak of "the Lord's Agapæ" (κυριακαῖς agapis)

[1] The Eucharist being specially but not exclusively included in the expression. The points emphasized on pp. 40, 41, and the notes there are important in this connection. See p. 160 ff. If the Eucharist constituted the *whole* meal, the eating of τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον would hardly have been possible—there would have been no colourable pretext for it.

[2] *Cf.* chap. iv. *supra* and the parallel passage in the *Canonum Reliquiæ* (Hauler) "*Cœna Dominica*," p. 106.

seems strongly to support Mr. Scudamore's[1] view as to meaning of *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*. Though the *Canons* are obviously interpolated in places, the expression in question is extremely unlikely to have occurred to any later interpolator.

The subsequent usage of the term "Supper" or "Lord's Supper" seems to have varied somewhat curiously. In the second century the term "our supper" is applied to the Agapé by Tertullian (*Apologet.* chap. xxxix.), who also applies it, apparently, to the Eucharist "*cœna Dei*" (*Spectac.* 13), and "*convivium Dominicum*" (*Ad Uxor.* ii. chap. 4). In the third century it is applied to the Eucharist by Hippolytus.[2] But in the fourth century the term has two senses, either, as in St. Basil:[3] "we are instructed neither to eat an ordinary supper in church, nor to do dishonour to the Lord's Supper" (by celebrating it in a house); or, especially in the Western Church, for the[4] Commemorative Supper on Maundy-Thursday, on which the Agapé was celebrated with the Eucharist.

[1] Though not the inferences he draws from it.

[2] "The mystical supper," *i.e.* of the Institution. In Prov. ix. *Fragment.* *Cf.* Dionysius of Alexandria, *Tract. c. Samos.* *R. ad Q.* 7 (A.D. 254).

[3] *Regulæ brevius mutatæ*, 310. *Cf.* St. Aug., *Ep.* 54, v. 7.

[4] *Concil. Carthag.* (397 A.D.) Canon 29. For further exx. see Scudamore, *u.s.*

And the survival of this latter custom seems an additional proof that the Agapé and Eucharist were originally combined.

C

In the text, following Bishop Lightfoot, Bingham (bk. xv. chap. vii. 6), who speaks of "a Feast of Charity which all the Ancients reckon an Apostolical rite accompanying the Communion," and others, I have spoken of the Supper referred to in 1 Cor. xi. as if it were an Agapé. But I have been asked "why are we to speak of the Corinthian Eucharist as an Agapé? It was a Supper, of course. But had the idea and name of Agapé already come into being?" To this I reply (i) that, if the considerations mentioned in the Introduction and in the earlier part of chap. i. are of any value, one would expect to find the *idea* present to the mind of the earliest Christians, whether Jewish or Gentile; (ii) that the supper mentioned by St. Paul is not a mere ordinary social meal, nor yet, of course, a Eucharist solely, as the eating of food other than the elements is indicated by St. Paul, but a *religious* meal. This is clear from *v.* 20, where it is called "a Lord's Supper," and from *v.* 21,

"for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper, and *vv.* 33, 34, "wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait for one another. If any man is hungry let him eat at home," where consideration for others is emphasized, and where it is plain that the *primary* object of the meal is not the mere satisfying of hunger or social enjoyment; (iii) that in the passages quoted from the Epistles of Jude (12) and 2 Peter (ii. 13), the same faults are rebuked, viz., selfishness and excess[1] (ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, and ἐντρυφῶντες) at feasts which are expressly called Agapæ; (iv) that there seems to be no reason to believe that these common feasts, as practised at Corinth, were seriously different in kind from those in use elsewhere, or from the common meals indicated in Acts, and frequently referred to by subsequent writers; (v) that as to the *name* Agapé it is, of course, impossible to prove that it was in use at Corinth in St. Paul's time. It seems to have been in

[1] Dr. F. H. Chase (in Hastings' *Dict. Bibl. s.v.* "Jude, Epistle of") draws out these parallels at greater length, showing the probability that (1) Jude's readers were Gentiles like the majority of the Corinthian Christians, and (2) that they belonged to Syrian Antioch. The readers of 2 Pet. would probably be Asiatics also.

use in the Christian Church at anyrate as early[1] as between 60 and 80 A.D.; but I have no doubt that at least the germ of the *practice* of Agapæ appears in 1 Cor., though not perhaps the *liturgical* developments, which appear, *e.g.*, in the *Didaché* (chap. x.) in connection with it.

All that we know of the Hellenic character as exemplified at Corinth would lead one to expect that the *idea* of a common feast would develop at least as rapidly there as in Christian communities in other parts of the Roman Empire. Neander (*History of the Planting of Christianity*, E.T., i. p. 249) well remarks: "There existed among the Greeks an ancient custom of holding entertainments at which each one brought his food with him, and consumed it alone. The Agapæ in the Corinthian Church were conducted on the plan of this ancient custom, although the peculiar object of the institution was so different; consequently the distinction of rich and poor was rendered peculiarly pro-

[1] Zahn (*Einleitung*, pp. 42 ff.) dates 2 Pet. between 60 and 63 A.D., and Jude about 75 A.D. Taking 57, or even 55, as the date of 1 Cor., there is no difficulty in supposing that the term Agapé in this sense *might* have been in use at Corinth, or at anyrate familiar to St Paul. But the fact remains that he does not use it, and this is significant. It certainly appears first in Asiatic documents (Jude, 2 Peter, Ignatius), and may well have originated at Antioch, if not at Ephesus. But 2 Pet. may be as late as 150 A.D.

minent; and the rich sometimes indulged in excesses which desecrated the character of these meetings."

The *συμπόσια φιλικὰ* here referred to are described by Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 14: "Now, when in the case of those who came together for a supper, some brought but little in the way of dainties (*ὄψον*), and others much, Socrates bade the attendant (*παῖδα*) either put the smaller quantity into the common stock, or distribute to each his share (of this). Accordingly those who brought the large supply were ashamed at having no share in that which was being put into the common stock, and at not putting in their own in return. So, then, they put their own supply into the common stock; and when they had no more than those who brought but a little with them (*φερομένων*), they came to stop buying dainties at a high price. . . . . .

And he (Socrates) used to say that to have good fare (*τὸ εὐωχεῖσθαι*) was called eating (*ἐσθίειν*) in the Athenians' language; whereas the good (fare) depended on (*τὸ δὲ εὖ προσκεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ . . . ἐσθίειν*) eating such things as would not be injurious either to mind or body, and as were not hard to procure. And so he used to use the expression "to have good fare" (*τὸ εὐωχεῖσθαι . . . ἀνετίθει*)

of those who fared moderately (*κοσμίως διαιτωμένοις*)."

There is, unfortunately, no contemporary epigraphic evidence at Corinth to illustrate the statements of 1 Corinthians. Dr. Ziebarth[1] quotes a reference from Suidas to a *thiasus* of Kotys a "*dæmon* who presides over iniquities"; it was apparently a purely religious society. But Professor Ramsay has shown in his recent *Historical Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians* (xxxi.) that "Corinth was a favourable soil for the growth of associations and clubs of every kind," as being the greatest international centre of Greece; and, further, that one of the most important questions for Christians was whether they "might still join in the common meals which constituted a leading feature in the ceremonial binding each of these clubs into a unity."

He throws important light on 1 Cor. x. 14 from the formula pronounced by partakers of the mysteries, viz., "I have eaten of the holy dish, I have drunk from the sacred cup," as showing that St Paul regarded the Eucharistic Meal and the Common Meal of the Pagan societies as two hostile ideas—"ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of

[1] *Griechische Vereinswesen* (Leipzig, 1896) p. 63.

Dæmonic powers: ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of Dæmonic powers."

The closeness of the bond which united such societies is brought out in the words of an inscription at Smyrna: *οἱ συμβιωταὶ καὶ συμμύσται* (Ziebarth, pp. 52, 206).

Dr. Armitage Robinson (*Encycl. Biblica*, p. 1425) summarises the causes of separation of the Eucharist from a common meal as (1) the difficulties connected with the gradual increase of numbers, which would interfere with reverent celebration; (2) disorders, such as were afterwards discountenanced in the *Canons of Hippolytus*; (3) the rapid expansion of the liturgical accompaniments of the Eucharist (*cf. Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Cor.* chap. lix., etc.); (4) the restriction of the Eucharist as the symbol of unity to occasions when the bishop, or his deputy, could celebrate it.

APPENDIX II

ROMAN LEGISLATION ON COLLEGIA AND SODALICIA AND ITS BEARING ON THE HISTORY OF THE AGAPÉ

The earliest legislation[1] on this subject ap-

[1] On the origin of *Collegia* (under Numa or Servius Tullius), *cf.* Plutarch, *Numa*, chap. xvii.; *Florus*, 1, 6, 3; *Cato Re Rust*, x. 5, xiv. 2; *Vitruvius*, vi. p. 17.

pears as early as the Twelve Tables (*Corpus Iuris*, ii. p. 91).

De collegiis illicitis.[1]

Duodecim tabulis cautum esse cognoscimus *ne quis in urbe cœtus nocturnos agitaret.* Deinde Lege Gabinia promulgatum,[2] qui conciones (? coitiones) ullas in urbe constavisset, more majorum, capitali supplicio multaretur; de re itaque, Catalina, sciscitor, tunc cœtus istos commilitonum tuorum contra præcepta xii. Tabularum, contra leges nostras, contra senatus ac plebis auctoritatem, noctu cogendos esse putavisti. Hæc Portius Latro in declamatione adversus Catilinam.

So far for the Republic.

The general attitude of the emperors may be gathered from two passages in the *Digest*, viz. :—

[1] It is clear that under the Republic *collegia*, in some cases at least, were tolerated so long as they respected the State law. *Cf.* Dionysius, ῥωμαικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, iv. and v. 2. *Cf.* Liv. xxxix. 14, where "nocturnos cœtus" for evil purposes are condemned. *Cf.* however *supra*, p. 10 ff.

[2] Other legislative acts were the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum*, the *S.C.* (B.C. 64), "quo collegia sublata sunt quæ adversus rem publicam videbantar esse" (Asconius ad Cic. in Pis, § 8). For the *Lex Clodia de Collegiis* (B.C. 58) see below, p. 181. The Senatus consultum (B.C. 56) referred to in Cic. *Ep. ad Quint. Fratr.* ii. 3: "eodem die senatus consultum factum est ut sodalitates decuriatique discederent, lexque de iis ferretur ut qui non discessissent ea pana qua est de vi tenerentur;" and the *Lex Licinia de Sodaliciis*, Cic. pro Planc. xviii. *sqq.*

I

Lib. iii; *Tit.* iv.

Gaius, lib. iii., *ad Edictum provinciale.*

Neque societas neque collegium, neque hujusmodi corpus passim omnibus haberi conceditur. Nam et legibus et senatus consultis et principalibus constitutionibus ea res coercetur. Paucis admodum in causis concessa sunt hujusmodi corpora: ut ecce, vectigalium publicorum sociis permissum est corpus habere, vel auri fodinarum vel argenti fodinarum, et salinarum.

Item collegia Romæ certa sunt, quorum corpus[1] senatus consultis, atque constitutionibus principalibus confirmatum est veluti pistorum, et quorundam aliorum et navicularioruin, qui et in provinciis sunt. Quibus antem permissum est corpus habere collegii, societatis, sive cujusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum Reipublicæ habere res communes, arcam communem,[2] et actorem sive syndicum, per quem tanquam in Republica, quod communiter agi, fierique oporteat, agatur, fiat.

[1] *Cf.* Tertull., *Apologet.* chap. xxxix., "corpus sumus."
[2] *Cf.* Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, chap. xxxix.

II

Digest Lib. xlvii.; *Tit.* xxii.

De Collegiis et Corporibus.

1. *Marcianus Lib.* iii. *Institutionum.*

Mandatis principalibus præcipitur præsidibus provinciarum, ne patiantur esse collegia sodalicia,[1] neve milites collegia in castris habeant. Sed permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre, dum tamen semel in mense coëant, ne sub prætextu ejusmodi illicitum collegium coëat. Quod non tantum *in Urbe sed in Italia et in provincia locum habere* Divus quoque Severus rescripsit. Sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur: dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita collegia prohibentur. Non licet autem amplius

[1] *Sodalitas* or *sodalicium* meant originally table-fellowship, then sacred brotherhood (*cf.* ἔρανος). In the later Republic it was used for unions dangerous to the State (*cf. e.g.* the *Lex Licinia*). Under the Empire the words changed their meaning and became quite harmless, being used synonymously with *collegia* as here. *Cf. Corpus Inscr. Lat.* vi. 612, "collegium sodalicium," and vi. 10231.

Collegium was originally the technical word for guilds, while *corpus* was the recognised expression for a lawful corporation with the privileges of a person with legal rights (*cf.* Gaius on preceding page). Later, *corpus* and *collegium* became interchangeable. Liebenam, p. 164 ff; *cf.* Mommsen, *de Coll. et Sodal.*, pp. 1 and 117; *cf. supra*, p. 10, notes 2 and 3.

quam unum collegium licitum habere ut est constitutum a divis fratribus. . . .

2. *De pœna.*

Ulpianus Lib. vi. de officio Proconsulis.

Quisquis illicitum collegium usurpaverit, ea pœna tenetur qua tenentur, qui hominibus armatis loca publica vel templa occupasse judicati sunt.

Gaius Lib. iv. ad legem xii. Tabul.

[1] Sodales sunt qui ejusdem collegii sunt, quam Græci ἑταιρίαν vocant. His autem potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint, sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant.

Sed hæc lex videtur ex lege Solonis translata esse, nam illic ita est:—Ἐὰν δὲ δῆμος ἢ φράτορες ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργίων ἢ ναῦται ἢ σύσσιτοι ἢ ὁμόταφοι, ἢ θιασῶται ἢ ἐπὶ λείαν † οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν, ὅτι ἂν τούτων, διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους κύριον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ δημόσια γράμματα.

So far for the general view of the Republican and Imperial legislation on the subject. As to Imperial legislation we find more specific statements in

[1] It is clear that sodalicia and collegia included fellowships for religious purposes, burial unions, and trade guilds. *Cf.* Liebenam, pp. 16, 17.

Suetonius' *Life of Julius Cæsar* (chap. xlii.), "Cuncta collegia præter antiquitus constituta distraxit."

Casaubon's note on the passage says: "Quæ paucis ante annis P. Clodius tribunus pl. lege lata partim restituerat, sub S. C. novem annis prius facto . . . partim nova adjecerat ex omni fæce urbis ac servitio. Cicero, Asconius, Dio, alii."

Again in the *Life of Augustus* (chap. xxxii.), "Plurimæ factiones titulo collegii novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassatores . . . inhibuit: collegia præter antiqua et legitima dissolvit.'

This is illustrated by an Inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vi. 2193) which mentions a "collegium symphoniacorum," "quibus senatus coire convocari, cogi permisit e lege Julia ex auctoritate . . . Augusti ludorum causa." And similarly we read (*Digest*, xxxiv. 5, 20) of a "corpus cui coire licet," and of a "collegium dendrophorum Romanorum quibus ex senatus consulto coire licet" (Orelli, 4075), and "ut corpus quod appellatur neon . . . in civitate sua auctoritate amplissimi ordinis confirmetur" (at [1] Cyzicus in Asia).

That there were at the time forbidden *collegia* existing in the Empire appears from the *Digest*

[1] *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, iii. 156.

(xlvii. 22, 3), "collegia si qua fuerint illicita mandatis et constitutionibus et senatus consultis dissolvuntur," and the State seems to have stepped in whenever any improprieties showed themselves.

A specially strict watch was kept upon the religious unions which promoted the worship of foreign gods. The service of Isis, *e.g.*, was controlled by the State under Augustus.[1] Tiberius exiled the Jews from Italy and showed himself very intolerant of foreign religions. "Externas cærimonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit. Judæorum juventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris cæli distribuit" (Sueton., Tib. 36), thus, temporarily at least, interfering with the remarkable toleration and forbearance which had been shown to the Jews since the days of Julius Cæsar.[2]

Caligula[3] seemed to have given a good deal of freedom to the formation of *collegia*.

Claudius,[4] on the other hand, showed great

[1] Dio LIII. 2, LIV. 6. *Cf.* Liebenam, p. 33. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, p. 13 ff. Preller, *Roman Mythol.* ii. p. 378 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Joseph., *Ant.* xiii. 3, 5; xviii. 4; Tac., *Ann.* ii. 85, with Joseph., *Antiq.* xiv. 10, 6; xiv. 10, 12; xiv. 10, 17; and Sueton., *Cæsar*, 84. See Hardy, *u.s.* chap. ii.

[3] Dio LIX. 38.

[4] Dio LX. 6, 6. Sueton., *Claud.* 38.

strictness against the *hetæriæ*, though without much success.

Nero, under the influence of Poppæa,[1] seems to have favoured the Jews, and is commonly supposed to have himself [2] inaugurated at the Juvenalia the "collegia juvenum," which spread rapidly in the Roman country towns; but, on the other hand, he attacked and abolished under the *Lex Julia* certain *collegia* at Pompeii which were of seditious tendency.[3]

At this point a considerable gap occurs in the evidence; and this continues to the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117).

This Emperor, though he had established a "collegium pistorum" at Rome,[4] distinctly refused to sanction a "collegium fabrorum" in Nicomedeia on the ground that all such organisations, however originated, tended to become *hetæriæ*,[5] *i.e.* social and political clubs, although the proposed membership was only 150, and Pliny guaranteed strict surveillance over it. And Trajan, while making some rare exceptions, lays

[1] Joseph., *Ant.* xx. 8, 11.

[2] Prof. Ramsay discredits this, *Hist. Comment. on Corinthians* xxxv.

[3] Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 17, "Collegiaque quæ contra leges instituerant (Pompeiani) dissoluta."

[4] Liebenam, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[5] Pliny, *Epist. Traj.* 34; Hardy, p. 171; Liebenam, p. 38.

down distinctly the principle "in ceteris civitatibus quæ nostro jure obstrictæ sunt res hujusmodi prohibenda est."[1]

The evidence furnished by Pliny, in addition to the light which, as already shown (in chapter ii.), it throws on the immediate history of the Agapé, is interesting as indicating the general lines of policy towards *collegia* in the provinces at the time. Clearly the permission of *collegia* depended on the Emperor himself, and not on the governor, and this seems to have prevailed even in the case of the senatorial[2] provinces. This, and the severity of the penalty[3] attached to illegal *collegia*—"quisquis illicitum collegium usurpaverit ea pœna tenetur qua tenentur qui hominibus armatis loca publica vel templa occupavise iudicati sint"—points to the suspicion with which they were regarded, but does not necessarily prove that *collegia* were not already decidedly widespread.[4]

[1] *Epist.* 93; *Ep.* 96, 7 (referred to in chap. ii.).

[2] This was known as *Auctoritas Augusti.* In the case, *e.g.*, of Bithynia, which was a senatorial province, the Emperor is consulted.

[3] *Digest*, *ut supra*, xlvii. 22. *Cf.* xlviii. 41. "Majestatis autem crimen illud est quod adversus populum Romanum vel adversus securitatem ejus committitur," etc.

[4] As. *e.g.*, Liebenam (p. 39) thinks. See *contra* Introd., *supra*, p. 10 ff. Prof. Ramsay, *op. cit.* xxxv., in spite of the enactments quoted, holds that "only in the case of soldiers was the Imperial policy resolute against clubs."

Under Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), certain privileges seem to have been given to the "collegia tenuiorum," as is seen by a comparison of the famous Lanuvian Inscription (A.D. 133), with the *Digest* (xlvii. 22, 1), as quoted above. The Inscription has "qui(bus) coire (co)nvenire collegiumq(ue) habere liceat qui stipem menstruam conferre volen(t in fun)era in mense c(oeant co)nferendi causa unde defuncti sepeliantur"; the *Digest* has "permittitur[1] tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre dum tamen semel in mense cöeant."

The similarity of Tertullian's language in speaking of the Agapé to both these statements is too great to be accidental (*Apologet.* chap. xxxix.): "Etiam si quod arcæ genus est, non de honoraria summa quasi redemptæ religionis congregatur: modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit, nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert . . . Nam inde non epulis nec potaculis nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris et puellis re ac parentibus destitutis."

[1] *Cf.* Pliny, *Ep.*, and *Traj.* 93, "ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam." Mommsen thinks these were "collegia funeraticia," and that they were specially exempted from the Lex Julia by a *senatus consultum* at some time between Augustus and Hadrian.

The technical[1] terms used such as "arca," "honoraria (?) summa," "stips," "menstrua die conferre," and the great resemblance to the words of the *Digest*, almost force one to the conclusion that Tertullian is referring to the further grants to the *collegia tenuiorum* by the rescript of Severus (A.D. 193-211), which the same passage in the *Digest* mentions: "permittitur tenuioribus . . . Quod non tantum in urbe sed in Italia et in provinciis locum habere Divus quoque Severus rescripsit. Sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur: dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum . . ."

But this is anticipating. Meantime, under Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.), the State control over the *collegia* was greatly increased, but they seem in some cases to have been impressed into the service[2] of the government.

Under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) "collegia licita" were given legal rights, such as emancipation and receiving[3] legacies, and the already existing restriction "non licet amplius quam unum collegium habere" (*Dig.* xlvii. 22, 1, 2) was reinforced.

[1] Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, p. 190; Liebenam, pp. 40, 41.

[2] *Cf. Corp. Inscr.* vi. 1012 and ii. 1167.

[3] *Dig.* xl. 3, 1; *Dig.* xxxiv. 5, 20.

Septimius Severus, in addition to the very important enactment already mentioned, added another against unlawful *collegia*:[1] "eos etiam qui illicitum collegium coisse dicantur apud præfectum urbi accusandos."

The decree of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235) by which "corpora omnium constituit vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum et omnino omnium artium, atque ex sese defensoris dedit, et jussit qui, ad quos indices pertinent,"[2] has been already referred to. Liebenam (p. 49) thinks that this does not mean that Alexander gave a new constitution to these trade guilds, but that he simply developed further the policy of his predecessors in definitely connecting the work of such *collegia* with the public service of the Empire.

It is significant that from henceforward the expression "quibus ex senatus consulto coire licet" is no longer found.

For the next hundred years there is practically no important record of legislation touching *collegia*,[3] but the general tendency was to bring them more completely under State control, while encouraging membership by the exemption of members from "sordida munera."[4]

[1] Liebenam, p. 47. [2] *Vita Lampridii*, chap. xxxiii. *Cf.* p. 98.
[3] See Liebenam, p. 50. [4] *Cod. Theodos.* xi. 16; xiii. 4, 2.

Almost contemporary with the toleration of Christianity by the edict of Milan in 313 A.D. was a decree of Constantine, by which members of guilds, such as the "dendrophori," and "centonarii," and "fabri," should be united, and better provision for the State service thus gained.[1]

The preceding outline of the Roman legislation as to *collegia* makes it clear that the Emperors were opposed to all spontaneous[2] developments in the way of association among the people at large. The Augustan legislation, which is naturally to be taken as the type of such procedure, not only abolished a large number of *collegia*, but required for the future that every *collegium* should receive a special licence from the Senate,[3] the penalty of failure to do so being the same as that for *majestas*. This law appears gradually to have extended beyond the senatorial provinces.[4]

There is no evidence of the Christian Agapé being influenced by the restrictions of the earlier

[1] *Cod. Theodos.* xiii. 5, 7, etc.

[2] Though they encouraged their development when under their own supervision. *Cf.* Augustus' institution of the *Augustales* or *Cultores Augusti*. Ramsay, *op. cit.* xxxv.

[3] Which, as we have seen, practically meant the Emperor as time went on.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 184.

Emperors. If, as there is reason[1] to think, the Roman Government were rather inclined to protect the Christians at first, one can imagine both the Eucharist and the Agapé being practised without molestation, more especially if the provisions mentioned in the *Digest*, xlvii., *Tit.* xxii., viz. "religionis causa coire non prohibentur," were already in force.

At this point the question naturally arises how far the Christian communities were identified with *collegia* or *sodalicia*. Leaving aside the question of the πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι, and the *præsidentes*[2] or *patroni*, who do not appear to have been officials distinctive of the *collegia* at all, it may be well to refer to the ingenuity which has been exercised in finding resemblances between the earliest Christian communities, especially the Corinthian, and the heathen associations.[3] Expressions such as φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, ζῆλος, ζηλοῦν, κυροῦν,

[1] See Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, chap. iii. It was between 68 and 96 A.D., according to Professor Ramsay, that the *nomen* itself became a crime (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 245).

[2] See Liebenam, p. 272.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Heinrici, *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.*, 1876, p. 506 ff. And *cf.* Moeller, *Hist. of the Church* (Eng. Trans.), pp. 66, 67: "these cultus-associations . . afforded a pattern after which those who believed in Christ might organise themselves."

δοκιμάζειν, προθυμία, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως, as well as *ἀντιλήμψεις, κυβερνήσεις, διακονία*, have been quoted as instances of such resemblance, but with little evidence to support them.

But in addition to the terms already quoted from Tertullian, there were undoubtedly other points of contact between the early Christian communities and the *collegia* or *θίασοι* around them, although not such as to be clearly connected with the *origin* of the Agapé.[1]

The word *collegium* itself seems to have been studiously avoided by the Christians;[2] but they designate themselves a "corpus Christianorum" (Tertull., *Apol.* chap. xxxix., Lactant. *de morte persec.* xlviii.), as "ordo" (Tertull., *de Exhort. Cast.* vii.), "ordo ecclesiasticus" (Tertull., *de Monog.* vii.); *ἐκκλησία* was used by the Greek associations (*Corp. Inscrr. Gr.* 2271, etc.); and *συναγωγή, σύνοδος* and *τὸ κοινόν*, are used by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 19 and vii. 32, 27) of the Christian Church. Lucian (*de morte peregr.* xi.) calls the president of the Christian community *θιασάρχης καὶ συναγωγεὺς*, as if of a *θίασος*, and Celsus (Origen *c. Cels.* iii. 22) speaks of

[1] See above, Introd. p. 19.
[2] *Cf.* De Rossi, *Roma Sotter.* iii. 512.

Christians as ἴδιοι θιασῶται of Jesus; and a Christian inscription in Africa speaks of "ecclesia fratrum, cultor, area, cella"—all familiar expressions in heathen *collegia*.[1]

But in spite of these expressions, which may to some extent be only coincidences, or at any rate epithets used untechnically, there is no evidence to show how far the Christian communities were regarded as *collegia* before the time of Trajan. The Jews according to Josephus (*Antiqq. Jud.* xiv. 10, 6) were regarded as θίασοι, but they were expressly exempted from the laws relating to *collegia*; the Christians, however, were not.[2] If, then, we are to seek an explanation of the apparent immunity of the Christian associations of the first age, it seems to be partly in the already quoted statements of the *Digest*—"religionis causa coire non prohibentur," partly in the fact, that amongst the enormous number of *collegia* to which extant inscriptions point as existing (in the face of the legal restrictions already quoted), the Christian meetings, which were still comparatively insignificant, might escape notice, especially as the adminis-

[1] See Liebenam, p. 272 ff.; Hardy, p. 184.

[2] Tertullian repudiates the charge that the Christians took shelter under the wing of Judaism "sub umbraculo religionis certe licitæ" (*Apologet.* chap. xxxix.).

tration of the laws relating to *collegia* seems to have been carried out with very varying strictness in different parts of the empire.[1] But as time went on, it is clear that certain features in Christianity would bring it into conflict with the Roman policy towards *collegia.* The Agapé, with its *ἔρανος* or *arca*, would be perhaps the chief of these. In this they resembled the *hetæriæ* of which Trajan, *e.g.*, was so suspicious in Bithynia; and occasion might always be found against them by a vigilant governor such as Pliny.[2]

It is clear, as we have seen, that Trajan set his face against *collegia*, at anyrate in Bithynia; but how far this policy was extended, and how strictly it was enforced elsewhere it is impossible to tell;[3] so that the separation of the Agapé from the Eucharist may have taken place at different times in different provinces. All we know is that the

[1] See Hardy, chap. ix.

[2] *Cf.* Philo, *adv. Flacc.* p. 966, who says that Flaccus, Præfect of Egypt, with Tiberius, *τὰς ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους αἱ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἱστιῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν εὐπαροινῆσαι διέλυε.*

[3] In spite of the general principle laid down by Trajan, Plin., *Ep.* 93 (quoted above), Professor Ramsay (*Historical Commentary on Corinthians*, § xxxv.) thinks that "Bithynia had been in an exceptional and disturbed condition and exceptional strictness was needed . . . but even in that province Trajan recognised the right of Amisus to maintain its *collegia.*"

exemption from the *Lex Julia* mentioned in the *Digest* (xlvii. 22) was not yet in force in Bithynia[1] in Pliny's time.

But by the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) the privileges already mentioned had been extended to the *collegia tenuiorum*, at least in Rome itself and Italy, and possibly the senatorial provinces; and so it is quite possible that in Justin Martyr's time the Agapé[2] *was* held. His not dwelling on it might be due to a natural desire not to call the Emperor's attention to what *had* been till lately illegal, and was only lately tolerated.

When we come to Tertullian's time the whole case is altered. The wide indulgence of Severus' (A.D. 193-211) legislation towards the *collegia tenuiorum* was now recognised throughout the provinces; and Tertullian evidently seeks to put

[1] According to Professor Ramsay, *u.s.*, the Emperors did not press the Roman law in the Eastern provinces so strictly as in the West. They allowed the Greek laws great scope, and especially so in the Senatorial provinces such as Asia and Achaia.

[2] *Cf.* his expressions *ὁμοδίαιτοι*, *σύνεσμεν*, etc., quoted in chap. ii. If it was *not* held, the repression would probably be due to the stricter administration of the Roman law in the West. Dr. Armitage Robinson thinks Justin's description "leaves no place for" the Agapé (*Encycl. Biblica*, *s.v.* Eucharist). Clement's silence seems hardly in point—he is silent about so many characteristic Christian practices. *Cf.* T. Harnack, *op.c.*, p. 256.

the Agapé under this category. Hence his employment of the familiar terminology[1] of the *collegia*, writing as he did shortly after the rescript of Severus.

"The Christians, in Tertullian's view, had the right to be regarded as '*licitæ factiones*,' because their objects were the same, though with less admixture of luxury and social enjoyment, as those of the *collegia tenuiorum*.[2] Nor does there seem any reason to suppose that such a claim on the part of the Christian communities to be regarded in the eye of the law as a *collegium tenuiorum* would be disallowed by the authorities. Such a recognition would not in the slightest degree affect the general relations of the Christians and the Government: it was no recognition of Christians and Christianity. In all probability the Christians would describe themselves as '*fratres cultores dei*,'[3] or in some such way; at anyrate, the designation of *Christiani*, in the face of the name

[1] See above, p. 189.

[2] Professor Ramsay (*u.s.* § xxxv.) thinks that the whole system of Roman benefit societies called *collegia tenuiorum* may perhaps be as old as Augustus.

[3] *Cf. Corpus I.L.* viii. 9585. Tertull., *Apol.* xxxix. "quod fratrum appellatione censemur." Minuc. Felix., *Ont.* xxxi., "Sic nos . . . fratres vocamus ut unius dei parentis homines." Liebenam, p. 273.

being a punishable offence, would be avoided. And therefore their position as a recognised or tolerated *collegium* would in no way prevent persecution 'for the name' or accusation under the law of *majestas*. It would merely give the various Christian communities a certain *locus standi* for their ordinary meetings; it would facilitate their combination for charitable purposes, making it more possible for them to approximate, without the suspicion of dangerous or anti-social communism, to their principle of having all things in common ('*omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos*'[1]); and, finally, it would secure to them the right of common burial, and the possibility of possessing common burial places, which the vast system of catacombs round Rome proves to have been so essential an element of early Christianity. Indeed, the un-

[1] Tert., *Apol.* xxxix. *Cf.* Moeller, *Church Hist.* (Eng. Trans.), vol. i. p. 195: "The possibility of corporate rights and collective property for the Christians in the pre-Constantinian period consisted in their application to their own uses of the exceptions to the laws against Hetaireiai in favour of the so-called *collegia tenuiorum*; they therefore took the character of a sort of burial and charitable society. . . These latter were allowed to assemble once a month, but were nevertheless obliged to give notice to the authorities and give the names of the presidents. In this way, therefore, appeared . . . Christian *collegia fratrum*, which had their *triclinia* and also their burial places."

doubted possession by the Christians at the end of the second century of *arcæ*[1] or *cœmeteria* of their own seems necessarily to imply that in some way or other they had corporate rights—that their communities ranked as juristic persons—a result which could only follow from their being generally or specially licensed."[2]

With this account of Tertullian's claims on behalf of the Christian communities and their probable relation to the Imperial legislation on *collegia* the record is practically closed.

In the time of Clement of Alexandria the legislation of Alexander Severus[3] had taken effect, and this may partly account for Clements' frequent mention of the Agapé, which may now have been practically tolerated.

Origen's comparative silence about the Agapé is very possibly due to the renewed feeling of hostility to Christians at the time that he wrote against Celsus (A.D. 249[4]); and his admission[5] of

[1] *Cf.* Hippolytus, quoted on p. 104, *note*, and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 13, who mentions an ordinance of Gallienus in which he grants permission to other bishops "to recover what are called the cemeteries."

[2] Hardy, p. 191.

[3] Which seemed to give larger toleration than its wording implies. *Cf. supra*, pp. 98 and 191.

[4] The date of the Decian Persecution.

[5] *Contra Cels.* i. 1.

the illegal character of the Agapé may perhaps be taken as referring to a period anterior[1] to the toleration of Severus to the *collegia tenuiorum*, and to the further enactments of Alexander Severus, which were no doubt in force in Origen's time.

[1] Otherwise it certainly makes against Mr. Hardy's view as quoted above. Celsus himself, as previously pointed out, seems to have written a century earlier.

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